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Was Wilhelm II really to blame for
Germany's doomed U-boat strategy?



FUTURE
ISSUE 094



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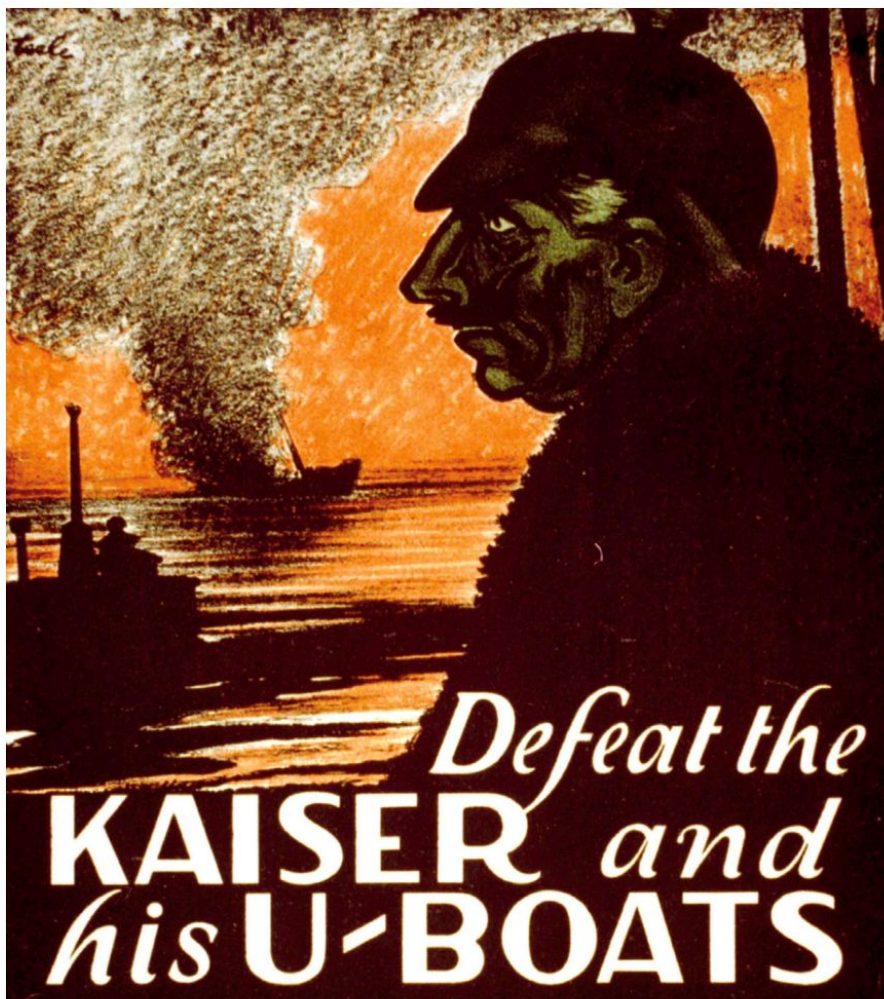
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LARRY PATERSON

Heavy metal drummer, diving instructor and historian, Larry has several published books on U-boats as well as special forces during WWII. Over on page 24 he investigates who was really to blame for Germany's U-boat gamble during WWI.



JON TRIGG

Historian and author Jon returns to History of War, this time taking a look at the Battle of Crete, which was fought 80 years ago this month. Turn to this issue's Great Battles on page 30 to follow every stage of the battle, blow-by-blow.



MURRAY DAHM

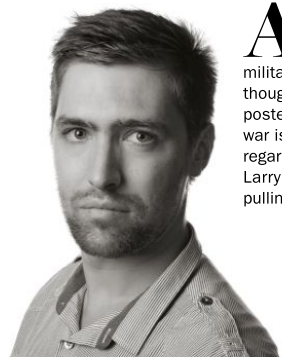
In this month's Heroes of the Medal of Honor, Murray takes a look at the inspiring story of William Harvey Carney, a freed slave who in 1863 stormed Fort Wagner with the 54th Regiment while carrying the Stars and Stripes (page 52).

Above: Germany's use of U-boats against merchant and civilian vessels in WWI is the source of fierce debate to this day

Welcome

After studying the First World War at school, I was left with the overwhelming (albeit naive) impression that the Kaiser was a 'bad guy' – no doubt. Years later I, along with many military history enthusiasts, remain fascinated by Wilhelm II – though hopefully I know better than to take an eerie propaganda poster at face value. His role and influence on the course of the war is still the subject of much debate, no less so than with regard to Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare. This issue Larry Paterson returns to History of War to discuss who was really pulling the strings in this deadly, and risky gamble.

Tim Williamson
Editor-in-Chief



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**TURN TO
PAGE 50**





THE KAISER'S GAMBLE

24 Was Wilhelm II really to blame for Germany's doomed U-boat strategy during World War I?

Frontline

POLISH-SOVIET WAR

12 Timeline

In the wake of the First World War and Russian Civil War, a new conflict flares up in Central Europe

16 Bolsheviks, generals & chaplains

Politicians and military leaders found their calling and downfall in this bitter border conflict

18 Battle of Warsaw

With the enemy at the gates of the capital, the Polish Army launched a daring counterattack

20 Roots of the war

With Russia in the throes of civil war and Germany defeated, Poland sought to expand its own borders

22 Marshal Jozef Pilsudski

Victor over the Red Army, the Marshal dominated Polish politics in the early 20th century



HEROES OF THE MEDAL OF HONOR

52 How this freed slave stormed Fort Wagner and earned the medal for valour



GREAT BATTLES

30 Discover how German paratroopers stormed British and Allied forces on Crete



06 WAR IN FOCUS
Stunning imagery from throughout history

24 THE KAISER'S GAMBLE
Larry Paterson looks into the real culprits behind Germany's doomed U-boat strategy

GREAT BATTLES

30 CRETE, 1941
Read how Germany's paratroopers made their last fatal jump during this island invasion

38 BAY OF PIGS: "WE WANTED TO BRING FREEDOM"
Exclusive interview with Cuban-American veteran Johnny Lopez de la Cruz

HEROES OF THE MEDAL OF HONOR

52 WILLIAM HARVEY CARNEY
Incredible story of a former slave who became a celebrated hero of the Civil War

OPERATOR'S HANDBOOK

56 PEASHOOTER P-26A
Discover how this plucky fighter plane revolutionised America's air fleet



Homefront

64 PRIDE OF THE ROYAL NAVY
A tribute to the late Duke of Edinburgh's military career

Q&A

68 SEARCHING FOR BRUNANBURH
Professor Michael Livingston discusses his long search for Britain's lost battlefield

72 MUSEUMS & EVENTS
A roundup of the latest exhibitions and collections

5 BEST BOOKS

74 REVIEWS
The latest military history book and film releases

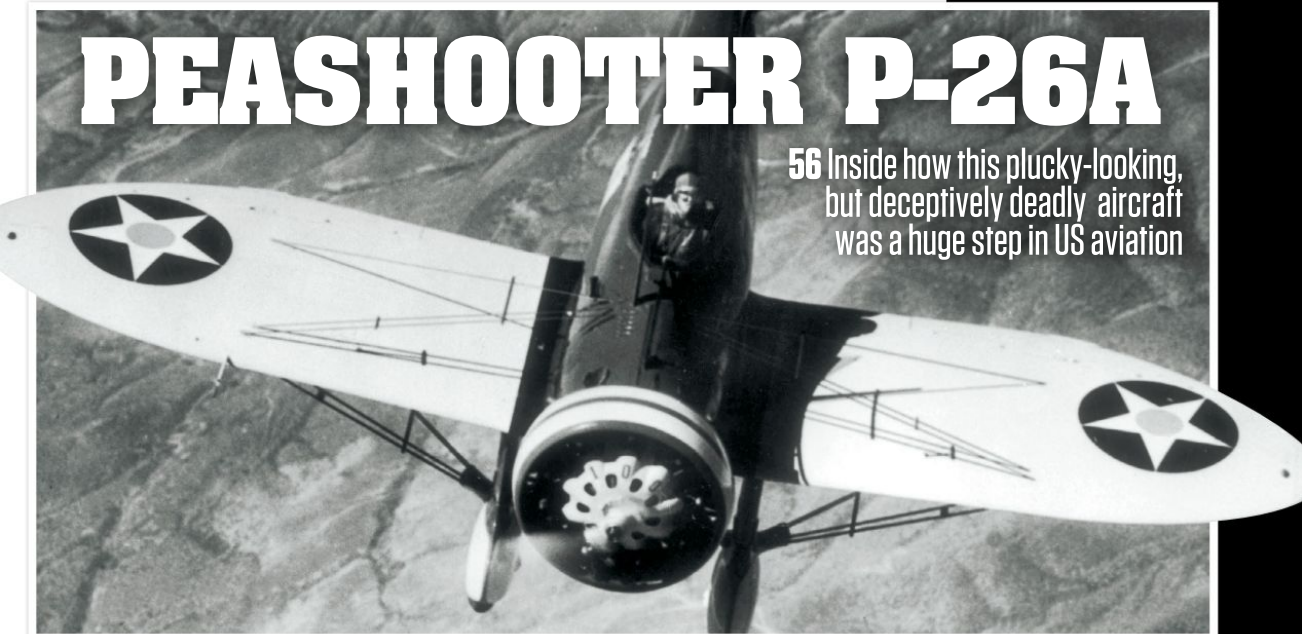
79 KAISER WILHELM II
Become an expert on Germany's last emperor

ARTIFACT OF WAR

82 KNIGHT'S SPUR
Take a close look at this golden medieval artefact

PEASHOOTER P-26A

56 Inside how this plucky-looking, but deceptively deadly aircraft was a huge step in US aviation





WAR_{in} **FOCUS**

AN AFRICAN PATRIOT

Taken: 2019

An Ethiopian veteran of the Second Italo-Ethiopian War poses with his medals and full uniform. After Italy's successful invasion of Ethiopia (then known as Abyssinia) in 1936, Emperor Haile Selassie fled the country but many Ethiopians remained to resist the occupation. Hundreds of resistance fighters were operating in the capital Addis Ababa, as well as in rural villages across the country.

Years later during the Allied East Africa Campaign these soldiers, known as Arbegnoch (meaning Patriots), joined the British, Commonwealth and African forces in the battle against the remaining Italians.







WARⁱⁿ **FOCUS** **PRINCE'S HONOUR**

Taken: 8 June, 1948

The Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Philip, inspects a Guard of Honour of Royal Marines at the Guildhall Yard prior to receiving the Freedom of the City of London. Still a serving member of the Royal Navy, Philip had the previous year married Princess Elizabeth and in doing so renounced his rights to the Greek and Danish thrones and became a British citizen. He took command of the frigate HMS Magpie in 1950, but ended his naval career upon the accession of Elizabeth to the throne in 1952.

WARⁱⁿ FOCUS

COMBAT IN THE GORGE OF MALAKOFF ON 8 SEPTEMBER, 1855

Painted: 1856

This dramatic scene by artist Adolphe Yvon captures the moment French troops charged the Russian redoubt during the Battle of Malakoff in the Crimean War. The battle was one of the decisive engagements that brought about the end of the long Siege of Sevastopol. Instrumental in the victory was the charge of Zouave infantry, who lifted the French flag above the captured Russian position – inspiring this and many other patriotic renditions.







TIMELINE OF THE...

POLISH-SOVIET WAR

The newly independent Second Republic of Poland successfully defends itself against the advancing Red Army and prevents the further spread of Bolshevism into Europe

VILNA OFFENSIVE 01

The Polish Army captures the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius from the Soviets after several days of fighting in the city. Four other cities in the nearby vicinity are also captured by the Poles, with the Red Army launching a failed counteroffensive at the end of April 1919.

© Getty

1918-19

EXPANSION & COMMUNISM

An independent Poland is re-established with the creation of the Second Polish Republic at the end of WWI. The Poles want to expand their border eastwards into modern Belarus and Ukraine to strengthen their new state against Russian expansionism. Meanwhile, Russia's new Bolshevik government wants to advance into Europe to assist other Communist movements. Poland stands in its way.

Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin decrees that the Red Army needs to "destroy the wall (ie. Poland) separating Soviet Russia from revolutionary Germany"



18 November 1918-March 1919

WESTWARD OFFENSIVES

Soviet forces advance into the new republics of Lithuania, Latvia, Belarus and Estonia. These countries fight back with large Polish military support. The Poles directly fight the Soviets on Polish soil from February 1919, but heavy resistance across Eastern Europe forces the Red Army back. The Soviets then reorganise, marking the beginning of the Polish-Soviet War.



A Bolshevik propaganda poster depicts the Red Army as a liberating force for the Polish

19-21 April 1919

August 1919

OPERATION MINSK 02

The Poles capture the Belorussian capital of Minsk from the Red Army. They proceed to attack and kill Jews in the city for allegedly supporting the Bolsheviks. Hundreds of Jewish-owned shops are looted before the Polish Army advances further east.



Polish officers pictured in Minsk

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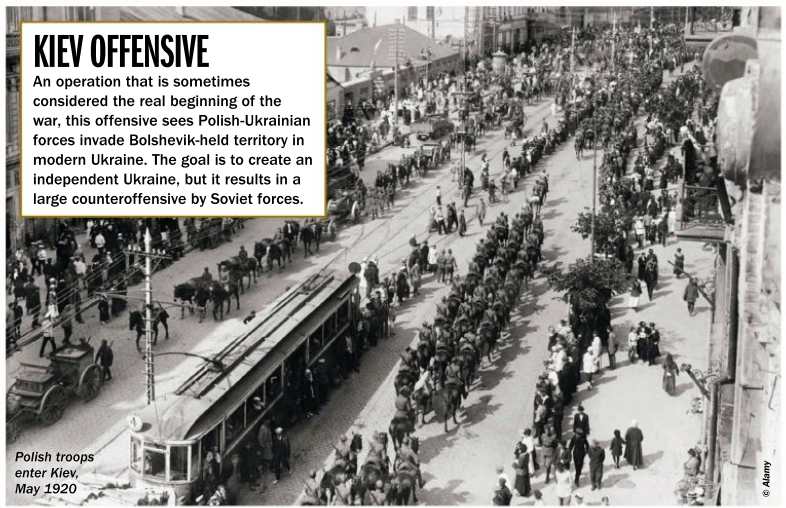
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Polish cavalry advance into Lithuania, 19 March 1919

KIEV OFFENSIVE

An operation that is sometimes considered the real beginning of the war, this offensive sees Polish-Ukrainian forces invade Bolshevik-held territory in modern Ukraine. The goal is to create an independent Ukraine, but it results in a large counteroffensive by Soviet forces.



Polish troops enter Kiev, May 1920



Polish defences at Miłosna near Warsaw, August 1920

BATTLE OF WARSAW 05

The Polish Army is forced to retreat west after the Soviet counterattack following the Kiev Offensive. A Red Army victory in Poland is predicted, but the Poles win several battles in and around Warsaw. Known as the 'Miracle on the Vistula', the Soviets are thrown back, and the spread of communism into Europe is halted.

24 April-13 June 1920

12-25 August 1920

3-5 January 1920

19-20 July 1920

BATTLE OF DAUGAVPILS 03

Polish and Latvian forces attack a Red Army garrison at Daugavpils. The Polish-led troops are assisted by a company of French-commanded tanks, which helps to defeat the Soviets. Although part of the Polish-Soviet War, the battle is also considered part of the Latvian War of Independence.

Renault FT-17 tanks of the Polish 1st Tank Regiment pictured prepare for the battle



Images Wiki / FDB, Bonn

BATTLE OF GRODNO 04

The Soviet 3rd Cavalry Corps captures the town of Grodno, which forces the Poles to withdraw to river defensive lines. This is despite their attempts to recapture Grodno with a mixture of infantrymen, tanks and even armoured trains.



An example of a Polish armoured car from 1920 called 'Zagloba'

© Alamy

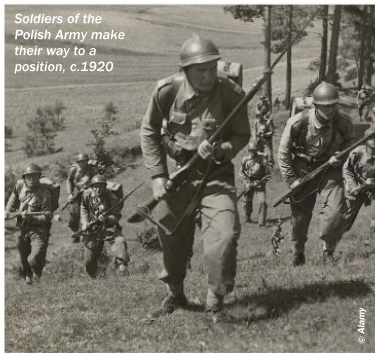


13-16 August 1920

BATTLE OF RADZYMIN 06

A part of the Battle of Warsaw, Radzymin is a fierce engagement where the Soviets are heavily defeated northeast of the capital. The Russians are unable to break through the Polish defences, and the battle is critical for the outcome at Warsaw, although it is also one of the bloodiest of the war.

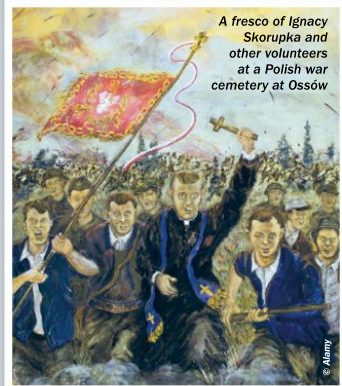
Soldiers of the Polish Army make their way to a position, c.1920



14 August 1920

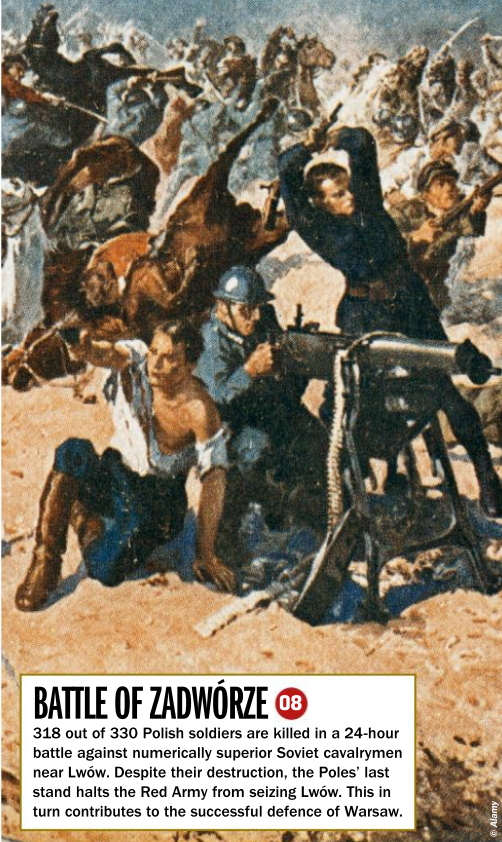
BATTLE OF OSSÓW 07

The Red Army captures the village of Ossów near Warsaw, but they are expelled by a determined Polish counterattack. The death of Polish military chaplain Ignacy Skorupka during the engagement becomes a symbol of Poland's resistance against the Soviets.



A fresco of Ignacy Skorupka and other volunteers at a Polish war cemetery at Ossów

Zadwórze becomes known as the
'Polish Thermopylae'



BATTLE OF ZADWÓRZE 08

318 out of 330 Polish soldiers are killed in a 24-hour battle against numerically superior Soviet cavalrymen near Lwów. Despite their destruction, the Poles' last stand halts the Red Army from seizing Lwów. This in turn contributes to the successful defence of Warsaw.

● Krasnodar

17 August 1920

30 August-2 September 1920

BATTLE OF THE NIEMEN 10

Józef Piłsudski's Polish forces counterattack in western Belarus after the Battle of Warsaw. A series of engagements is fought along the Niemen River against the Red Army, which attempts to form a defensive line. The Poles win a decisive victory, with the Soviets being forced to retreat.

Russian artillerymen
prepare for battle



15-25 September 1920

18 March 1921

BATTLE OF KOMARÓW 09

Komarów is the largest cavalry battle of the war, with mounted units being deployed by both sides. Sabre warfare and cavalry charges combine with motorised vehicles, machine guns and armoured trains. The Poles win what is considered to be the greatest cavalry battle of the 20th Century.



Horsemen of the Soviet
1st Cavalry Army
pictured at a rally in
Russia, c.1920

PEACE OF RIGA

Poland and Soviet Russia sign a treaty that establishes the Polish-Soviet border until the outbreak of WWII. Poland secures its sovereignty for almost two decades, but it sets back Eastern European independence movements in the process. Riga also forces the Soviets to halt the communist revolution in the west.



A cartoon depicts Belarus being ripped apart by Poland and Soviet Russia

BOLSHEVIKS, GENERALS AND CHAPLAINS

The war's leaders became victims of the conflict and also in later years due to the bitter enmity between Poland and Soviet Russia

WŁADYSŁAW SIKORSKI

THE SUCCESSFUL SOLDIER WHO BECAME POLAND'S TENTH PRIME MINISTER 1881-1943 POLAND

The son of a school teacher and born in an area of southeast Poland that was then part of Austria-Hungary, Sikorski was involved in the underground Polish independence movement before WWI. He received an Austro-Hungarian military education, and upon the outbreak of war in 1914 he was mobilised into the Polish Legions. These units were created to liberate Poland from Russia through service in the Austro-Hungarian Army, but by 1917 Sikorski refused to swear allegiance to the Habsburgs.

When Poland became independent in 1918, Sikorski organised the new Polish Army as a high-ranking officer. When the Polish-Soviet War broke out he commanded the 9th Infantry Division and participated in the Kiev Offensive of April 1920. He was soon promoted to the rank of brigade general, and took command of 5th Army. This force fought with distinction during the Battle of Warsaw, where Sikorski's forces launched a counterattack against the advancing

Soviets north of the Polish capital. The 5th Army's successful action gave Józef Piłsudski's main force time to launch the main counteroffensive for the battle, which ended with a decisive Polish victory.

After Warsaw, Sikorski commanded the 3rd Army and took the Belarussian city of Pinsk. His forces then participated in later battles of the war such as Lwów, Zamosc and the Niemen. At the war's conclusion he was promoted to divisional general and awarded Poland's highest decoration – the Order of Virtuti Militari – in 1921.

The war made Sikorski a Polish national hero, and he soon entered politics serving as Poland's prime minister during 1922-23 and subsequently the Minister of Military Affairs. Although his time as prime minister was brief, he was able to secure foreign recognition of Poland's new eastern borders from Britain, France and the United States. He also enhanced the standing of the Second Polish Republic within the League of Nations.

During WWII, Sikorski was prime minister and commander-in-chief of the Polish government and armed forces in exile



© Getty

MIKHAIL TUKHACHEVSKY

THE 'RED NAPOLEON' 1893-1937 SOVIET RUSSIA

A member of a poor noble family, Tukhachevsky was given a military education and joined the elite Semyonovsky Guards in the Imperial Russian Army in 1914. Serving as a junior officer during WWI, he was captured by the Germans in 1915 and shared a cell with French POW Charles de Gaulle at Ingolstadt.

Left: Tukhachevsky was nicknamed the 'Red Napoleon' by foreign press agencies, although his military achievements did not compare in glory with the French emperor

He escaped captivity in 1917, and joined the new Bolshevik Red Army.

Tukhachevsky quickly rose through the Soviet ranks during the Russian Civil War, and commanded various campaigns against White Russian forces. Such was his success that he was chosen to command the Soviet invasion of Poland in 1920. Tukhachevsky advanced boldly but too quickly, and his armies were defeated at the Battle of Warsaw.

At about the same time, he began to clash with the then Bolshevik commissar, Joseph Stalin. Tukhachevsky went on to make Red Army reforms and was promoted to marshal in 1935, but was executed in 1937 as part of Stalin's 'Great Purge'.



© Alamy

EDWARD RYDZ-SMIGŁY

THE POLE WHO COMMANDED LATVIANS AND HELD THE CENTRE AT THE BATTLE OF WARSAW 1886-41 POLAND

The son of a non-commissioned officer in the Austro-Hungarian Army, Rydz initially trained as a painter before he was given an Austrian military education. Drafted into the Austro-Hungarian Army for WWI, he fought in the Polish Legions against Imperial Russian forces, and was promoted to colonel.

Upon Poland's independence in 1918, Rydz became Minister of War and was again promoted to brigadier general in the new Polish Army. During the Polish-Soviet War, he captured Vilnius and Daugavpils before commanding the Latvian forces and helping seize Kiev. Despite the Polish retreat, Rydz commanded the centre of Polish forces at the Battle of Warsaw, and managed to block two Soviet armies from escaping to the east.

Appointed commander-in-chief of the Polish Armed Forces in the 1930s, Rydz was decisively defeated by Nazi Germany during the invasion of Poland in 1939. He escaped to Romania and was interned. He resigned as commander-in-chief and handed over command of Polish forces to Władysław Sikorski. He escaped internment, but died of heart failure in Warsaw.

Originally born as Edward Rydz, he added the nom de guerre 'Śmigły' to his surname in 1918. It translates as 'Fast'



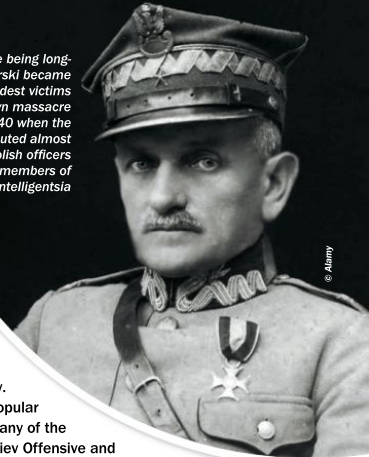
LEONARD SKIERSKI

THE EXPERIENCED GENERAL WHO FOUGHT FOR BOTH IMPERIAL RUSSIA AND POLAND ACROSS A LONG MILITARY CAREER 1866-1940 POLAND

A member of an old Protestant aristocratic family, Skierski's religious faith allowed him to swiftly rise through the ranks of the Imperial Russian Army from 1887. This was because the Russians had harsh laws for Polish Catholics who served in their army, but Skierski was a colonel by 1906 and a major general in 1916. Having founded the French-funded Polish Army in the East, Skierski fled the Bolsheviks during 1917-19 and joined the Polish Army.

Promoted to lieutenant general, Skierski was a skilled and popular commander of Polish infantry divisions. His men took part in many of the heaviest engagements of the Polish-Soviet War, including the Kiev Offensive and the Battle of Warsaw. He commanded the 4th Army from July 1920, and his battle-hardened troops spearheaded a Polish counteroffensive that pushed the Soviets back east to the River Stucz. After the war, he was promoted to divisional general before he retired in 1931.

Despite being long-retired, Skierski became one of the oldest victims of the Katyn massacre in April 1940 when the Soviets executed almost 22,000 Polish officers and members of the *Intelligentsia*



Budyonny was heavily defeated at the battles of Uman and Kiev during Operation Barbarossa in 1941, and never commanded troops in combat again

SEMYON BUDYONNY

THE FOUNDER OF THE 'RED CAVALRY' 1883-1973 SOVIET RUSSIA

A Russian peasant, Budyonny was conscripted into the Imperial Russian Army in 1903, where he became a cavalryman. Serving in the Russo-Japanese War and WWI, he fought as a non-commissioned officer, and was known as a daring and decorated horseman. After the Russian Revolution, he was key in forming a cavalry corps within the Red Army. Known as the 'Red Cavalry', it was successful against White Russian forces.

As the commander of the Red Cavalry, Budyonny's troops were deployed to drive Polish forces from Ukraine in April 1920. The horsemen helped to recapture Kiev and drove the Poles into retreat, but they were undone in southeast Poland. Budyonny was defeated at the Battle of Komarów during 30 August-2 September 1920, which became the largest cavalry battle of the 20th Century. Thousands of Soviet cavalrymen and their horses were killed, but Budyonny's reputation was saved because of his previous service. He was also a supporter of Stalin, which ensured his survival during the Great Purge.

IGNACY SKORUPKA

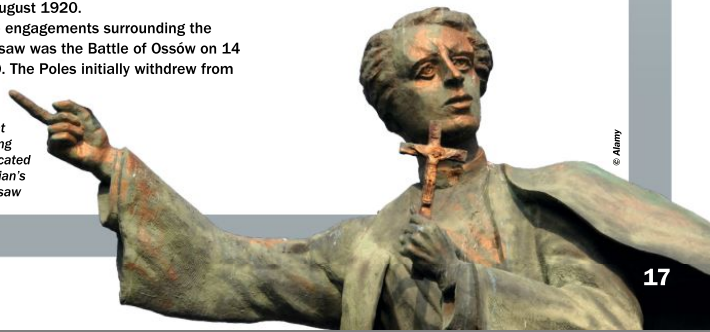
THE CHAPLAIN WHO WAS KILLED RALLYING TROOPS IN BATTLE 1893-1920 POLAND

Born in Warsaw, Skorupka trained to become a Roman Catholic priest in St Petersburg, and was ordained in 1916. Initially based in Polish parishes within Russia, Skorupka returned to Poland and volunteered to become a military chaplain in the Polish Army in July 1920. Assigned to the 236th Volunteer Infantry Regiment, this unit consisted of many students, and it soon became embroiled in the battle for Warsaw in August 1920.

One of the engagements surrounding the fight for Warsaw was the Battle of Ossów on 14 August 1920. The Poles initially withdrew from

the Soviet advance, but Skorupka reputedly gathered a group of soldiers and led them in a counterattack. He was killed, but reports of his death vary. One account said that he died while helping a fatally wounded soldier while another stated that he died leading a charge with a crucifix in his hands. Whatever the truth, Ossów was a Polish victory, and Skorupka was venerated as a martyr for his country.

This monument commemorating Skorupka is located outside St Florian's Church in Warsaw



BATTLE OF

WARSAW

The Polish Army launched a risky counterattack against the Soviet Red Army at the gates of the capital

The heady days of conquest were in the past as the Polish Army stood on the brink of defeat in mid-August 1920.

Under Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, the Poles had driven victoriously eastward in the early stages of the Polish-Soviet War, and apparently established a favourable eastern frontier with Soviet Russia. However, a dazzling counterattack by the Red Army had compelled the Poles to retreat – and then came the realisation that the Russians had no intention of halting. Their objective was Warsaw, the Polish capital city on the River Vistula.

Exhorted by their leader, Lenin, the Red Army intended to thrust even beyond Poland, perhaps into Germany and Western Europe, advancing Communist ideology at the tip of its spear. Western leaders watched with growing concern. Even though Pilsudski's expansionist ambitions, which they had condemned, had precipitated the Polish predicament, there was no choice but to support Warsaw's defenders in order to stem the rising Red tide.

The Western powers sent supplies and military advisors to Pilsudski as both the Poles and Russians contemplated a decisive battle in the summer of 1920. While the Russians advanced on Warsaw, Pilsudski planned a counteroffensive. It was fraught with risk, but borne of near desperation. As Soviet General Mikhail Tukhachevsky planned an attack with 140,000 troops against Warsaw from the northwest, Pilsudski pulled together comparable numbers, some of them veterans, but many ill-trained and ill-equipped. Further, his appeal to the Polish citizenry produced thousands of additional volunteers.

With his back to the proverbial wall, Pilsudski issued orders to at least hold the line before Warsaw, while a counterthrust from the south would hopefully speed northward and potentially cut the Soviet line of retreat. In Warsaw, 46,000 soldiers, along with some hastily organised volunteer units, were the last line of defence.

As Tukhachevsky launched his assault on 13 August, the Red juggernaut appeared unstoppable. Russian troops advanced steadily, overrunning the villages of Radzymin and Izbabelin, just 13 kilometres from Warsaw. Pilsudski was required to respond a full day earlier than contemplated.

Remarkably, when General Wladyslaw Sikorski launched his Fifth Army assault across the River Wkra northwest of Warsaw on 14 August, the lightning offensive made tremendous progress. Savage fighting swirled around the town of Nasielsk, and the Russians were ejected from Radzymin the following day.

Seizing the initiative, Sikorski hammered the demoralised elements of the Soviet 3rd and 15th armies. The swift Polish advance has been compared to the Blitzkrieg warfare executed by the German Army in Poland two decades later. Utilising armoured trains and any available armoured vehicles, Sikorski gained ground at the astounding pace of 30 kilometres per day. To compound Soviet difficulties, Tukhachevsky and General Semyon Budenny were at odds. Budenny ignored orders to consolidate his command with Tukhachevsky. Soviet communications were poor, and an opportunity to strike Sikorski's exposed flank evaporated.

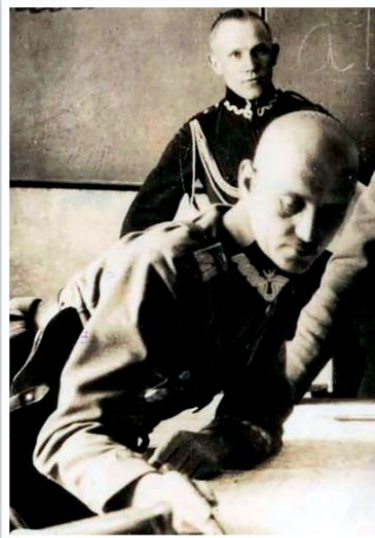
On 16 August, Pilsudski unleashed a northward strike from the River Wieprz. Resistance was light, and while finding a gap in Soviet lines, the Poles covered 113 kilometres in 36 hours. The 4th Polish Army deployed French-built Renault light tanks and reached the town of Brest-Litovsk, cutting off the Soviet Sixteenth Army. With Sikorski's continuing pressure and the advance of Pilsudski's strike force, the Red Army's situation rapidly deteriorated. By 18 August, Tukhachevsky, at his headquarters in Minsk, 300 miles from Warsaw, realised he was beaten.

Three Soviet armies disintegrated, soldiers panicked, and the ensuing retreat became a rout, despite Tukhachevsky's efforts at an orderly withdrawal. Surrounded, the Soviet 4th Army surrendered. Masses of Red Army troops reached East Prussia, where they were immediately interned by the Germans. Set upon by Polish lancers, the Soviet 1st Cavalry Army was encircled in the Zamosc Ring and virtually wiped out.

News of the unfolding debacle influenced the course of peace negotiations and forced the Soviets to acquiesce to terms favourable to the Poles. A Polish-Soviet boundary was established, intact until the Red Army returned in 1939 during the opening days of World War II.

The magnitude of the Polish victory at Warsaw on 12-25 August 1920, also known as the 'Miracle on the Vistula', was staggering. The Soviets had up to 25,000 killed, 30,000 wounded, 65,000 captured, and 35,000 soldiers interned in Germany. The Red Army abandoned 10,000 vehicles, 200 artillery units, and 1,000 machine guns. The Poles saw 5,000 dead, 22,000 wounded, and 10,000 missing.

Beyond the immediate implications of the Polish victory, the retreat of the Red Army from Warsaw was strategically significant, possibly saving Western Europe from the spectre of an armed Communist onslaught.



During the pivotal August 1920 Battle of Warsaw, Polish soldiers march toward the fighting



General Wladyslaw Sikorski, Polish Fifth Army commander, views a map with members of his staff

Following their spectacular victory at the Battle of Warsaw, Polish soldiers display captured Soviet flags



Images: Wiki / PD / Gov

ROOTS OF THE WAR

With Russia in the throes of civil war and Germany defeated in WWI, the time was right for Poland to embark on a campaign of territorial expansion

For well over a century, the Polish national consciousness had existed in a political netherworld. Their country was partitioned three times in the 18th century by powerful neighbours Germany, Russia and Austria, the people of Poland had been subjugated, and their culture almost eradicated. However, the upheaval of World War I and the internal strife that beset Soviet Russia offered an opportunity for lasting redress.

The champion of the Second Polish Republic and its nationalist supporters, Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, pursued a policy of territorial expansion that he hoped would ensure the preservation of the republic, bring ethnic Poles together, and even encompass lands in Belorussia, Ukraine and the Baltic States. Pilsudski, a moderate Socialist, had fought for the Central Powers against Russia during World War I, and indeed on 6 November 1916, Germany and Austria-Hungary had proclaimed the Kingdom of Poland, a puppet state with limited autonomy.

Within months, however, Russia concluded a separate peace with Germany and abandoned its World War I allies. Subsequently, in October 1918, just days before the end of the war, Poland's regency council declared full independence. The defeat of Germany led to political debate at Versailles, and already in the summer of 1918, US President Woodrow Wilson had conceived his Fourteen Points for lasting peace, one of which proposed an independent Poland.

The Poles established a parliamentary government and chose Pilsudski as head of state. The new leader soon implemented a plan to occupy eastern territory, reestablishing the

frontier of the old Polish nation at the expense of the Soviets and incorporating parts of Lithuania, Ukraine and Belorussia in an eastern European confederation under Polish primacy.

In February 1919, Pilsudski ordered the Polish Army to head north and east. The Soviets, he believed, were preoccupied with defeating their White Russian adversaries, and the bulk of the Red Army would necessarily focus on this struggle. Meanwhile, many Western observers labelled Pilsudski's bold move as outright aggression or opportunistic imperialism. Britain condemned the military thrust, and warned that Pilsudski could expect no assistance in the endeavour.

The Polish advance met little organised resistance, and by the end of 1919, the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius was in Pilsudski's hands, while great swaths of Ukrainian Galicia and Belorussia were occupied. In December, British Foreign Minister Lord George Nathaniel Curzon suggested that the Poles cease their advance at the "Curzon Line", which essentially marked the limits of Polish ethnicity. The proposal was rejected, as Pilsudski had already pushed further eastward – beyond the proposed limit.

Meanwhile, Pilsudski engaged in negotiations with the Bolsheviks and the White Russians, sounding their willingness to settle the issue with an acceptable eastern boundary. However, as time passed, it became clear that the Bolshevik Red Army would prevail against the White forces. Pilsudski prepared another offensive. He brokered an alliance with Ukrainian forces under Ataman Semyon Pelyura, a pragmatist willing to cede some territory to the Poles in exchange for a post-war independent Ukraine.

As Pilsudski received reports of large numbers of Red Army troops moving to oppose further Polish encroachment, on 25 April 1920 he ordered the Polish Army to advance deeper into Ukraine. Success was immediate. Within days, the Ukrainian capital of Kiev had fallen. Hailed a hero at home, Pilsudski was nevertheless moving closer to a major reversal and near catastrophe.

Seriously overextended supply lines left the Polish Army vulnerable to flanking counterattacks. Executing a plan conceived by Commissar Leon Trotsky, Red Army forces under Generals Semyon Budenny in the south and Mikhail Tukhachevsky in the north sent the Poles reeling toward their homeland. Driven by the ideological zeal of the Bolshevik leader, Lenin, the Russians threatened to take Warsaw and stir the well-organised Communist party in Germany to action. The extension of Communism into Central Europe was a threat to stability that alarmed the Western governments, spurring their diplomatic intervention and the dispatch of military advisors and war material to Pilsudski.

Far from finished, the ever-resourceful Pilsudski armed the peasants in the countryside along with the citizenry of Warsaw. He marshalled his forces, some of who were veterans of World War I, and launched a decisive counterstroke, inflicting a severe defeat on the Red Army in the Battle of Warsaw.

The Poles chased the Russians eastward, and negotiations were undertaken to establish a permanent frontier. The Treaty of Riga, signed on 18 March 1921, gave Poland some territory it had lost with the century-old partitions and granted the nation sovereignty over additional lands.



Members of the Polish delegation that participated in negotiations leading to the Treaty of Riga pose for a photographer

Source: WWI / PD / Gov

This poster depicting
a sabre-wielding
Polish cavalryman
exhorts the Polish
people to vanquish
the Bolshevik
Russian enemy



MARSHAL JOZEF PILSUDSKI

The victor over the Soviet Red Army in the Battle of Warsaw, Marshal Pilsudski dominated Poland's military and political path

Marshal Jozef Pilsudski once said of his socialist political leanings that he had "taken the Red streetcar as far as the stop called Independence and gotten off."

Pilsudski was a socialist, but he was much more a Polish nationalist. Revered today as the father of the Polish Second Republic and the architect of the greatest victory in his country's military history, he was no stranger to privation; familiar with hardship, a fearless foe of the implacable Russian enemy, and a leader whose cult of personality yet survives.

Pilsudski, who rose to lead independent Poland in 1920 and sought to expand its territory during the war with the Soviets, had always believed that Russia was his country's greatest enemy. Born on 5 December 1867 near the village of Zalavas, then part of the Russian Empire, he was the child of an aristocratic but impoverished family. Pilsudski learned Polish history from his mother and at an early age learned to despise repressive Russian rule, while his revolutionary tendencies developed.

While studying medicine at Kharkov University in 1885, Jozef became involved in revolutionary activities. A year later, he was barred from another university due to his reputation as an agitator. Implicated with his older brother, Bronislaw, in a socialist plot to assassinate Czar

Alexander III, Jozef was arrested and sentenced to five years' exile in Siberia. He was involved in a number of violent prisoner protests, losing teeth on at least two occasions.

Pilsudski's revolutionary fervour only increased during exile. Upon his release he joined the Polish Socialist Party, or PPS, and began publishing the underground newspaper, *The Worker*. He married fellow socialist Maria Juszkiewiczowa in 1899, and published the newspaper until his arrest and imprisonment in 1900. Convincing his captors that he was mentally ill, Pilsudski was transferred to a mental hospital in St Petersburg. He later escaped and made his way to London.

During the Russian Revolution of 1905, Pilsudski called on labourers to strike and attempted to incite rebellion. He became a divisive figure among socialists, and the PPS split over his prioritisation of Polish independence. Pilsudski was undeterred. Believing that armed revolution was the catalyst for independence, he began financing his own army with the proceeds of bank robberies.

With the outbreak of World War I, Pilsudski organised three infantry brigades in the Polish Legion, joining Germany and Austria-Hungary against the hated Russians. In 1916, after his wartime partners proclaimed the Kingdom of Poland, a semi-autonomous nation, Pilsudski refused to declare an oath of allegiance to Germany and Austria-Hungary, and was imprisoned in Magdeburg for two years. Released in November 1918, he returned to Warsaw a hero. The governing regency council appointed him commander-in-chief of the Polish armed forces and head of state.

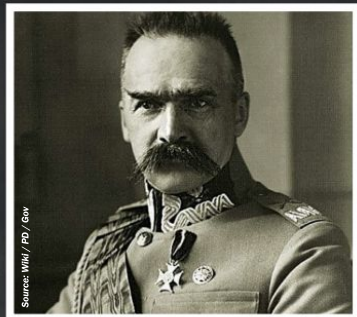
Pilsudski saw the nation's army as the instrument of his personal will, and embarked on the war with Soviet Russia that brought first acclaim, then catastrophe, and finally triumph

following the decisive Battle of Warsaw. During the post-war transition of power, he declined to run for the office of president, believing Poland's newly adopted constitution would restrict his power. However, he returned to prominence following the assassination of his friend, Gabriel Narutowicz, who served as the first president of Poland for only five days before he was shot on 16 December 1922.

Pilsudski and wartime comrade Wladislaw Sikorski quelled political unrest in the country, serving respectively as chief of the general staff and minister of military affairs during a state of emergency. With the election of a new president and amid the growing influence of political opponents in government, Pilsudski resigned in May 1923.

His retirement was short-lived. The Polish economy was in turmoil, and several governments had failed to act decisively. Finally, in 1926, Pilsudski emerged again on the political scene, propelled to prominence via coup d'état. He refused the office of president of the republic, citing a lack of real authority. Subsequently, he accepted the post of minister of military affairs, making him a de facto dictator. Critics have viewed his tenure as rather inefficient, particularly as he gave little attention to domestic policy and chose to concentrate on military and foreign affairs. He was also feared, sometimes silencing political opponents with lengthy prison terms.

Despite the observations of detractors and his sometimes heavy-handed rule, Pilsudski held the fractious Second Polish Republic together prior to World War II. However, by the mid-1930s his health had begun to decline rapidly, and he died of liver cancer at the age of 67 on 12 May 1935. Dark days of conflict, Nazi occupation and domination by the Soviet Union lay ahead for his beloved country.

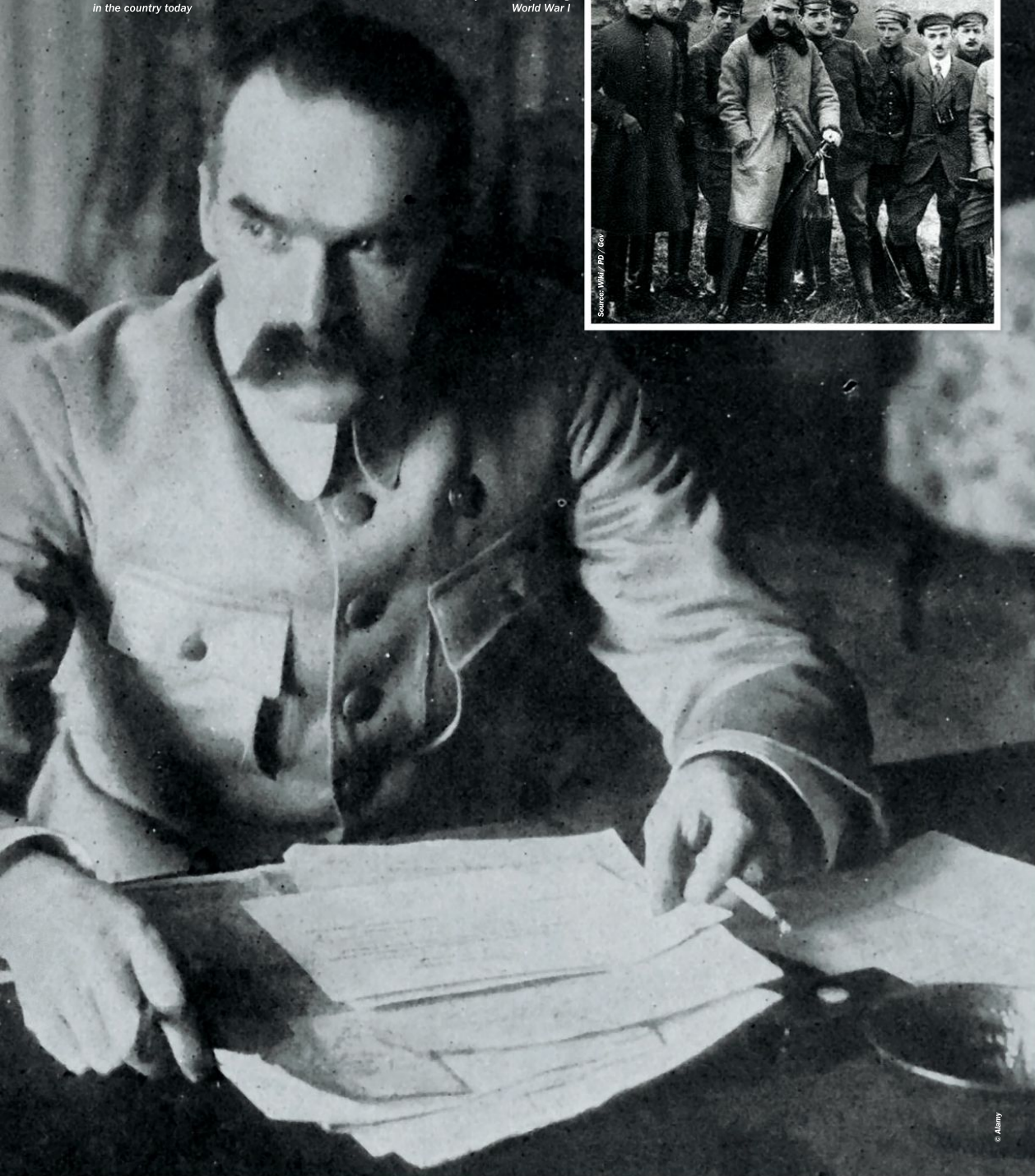


Source: Wiki / PD / Gov

"BELIEVING THAT ARMED REVOLUTION WAS THE CATALYST FOR INDEPENDENCE, HE BEGAN FINANCING HIS OWN ARMY WITH THE PROCEEDS OF BANK ROBBERIES"

Marshal Jozef Pilsudski,
father of the Polish
Second Republic,
remains a national hero
in the country today

Inset: Marshal Pilsudski
poses in 1917 with senior
members of the Polish
military leadership during
World War I



THE KAISER'S GAMBLE

During the First World War, U-boats were viewed by the Allied nations as savagery at sea, while many German commanders saw it as a viable means of breaking the stalemate. But was Wilhelm II really to blame for his country's doomed strategy?

WORDS LARRY PATERSON



Above: Did the ruthless use of U-boats actually contribute to Germany's defeat in World War I?

Left: Kaiser Wilhelm II gave the green light to a new U-boat campaign in February 1917

Germany was late to develop its own submarine, promoted vigorously by the German Torpedo Inspectorate despite opposition from the naval hierarchy. On the outbreak of the war in Europe in early August 1914 the Imperial German Navy possessed two flotillas comprising 28 operational U-boats – U1 to U28 – with U29 to U41 either nearing completion or in relatively advanced stages of construction. Of those which were operational, U1 to U4 were primitive designs, quickly relegated to training vessels, while U19 to U28, powered by new diesel engines over previous kerosene versions, were among the most advanced submarines yet built by any nation. Given that Germany was a relative latecomer to submarines the Imperial Navy began the conflict with two main misconceptions regarding their potential use.

First, after pre-war tactical trials using U1, U3 and U4, the German Torpedo Inspectorate concluded that the risk of collision required U-boats to operate geographically distanced from one another until such time as underwater signalling could be developed. Second, they were regarded as primarily a defensive weapon for use against an expected attack by the British Grand Fleet against the German High Seas Fleet. An attack was considered inevitable as Britain was expected to immediately maximise its material superiority. As a result, both U-boat flotillas were based in the island harbour on Heligoland to await the onslaught. After this failed to materialise, they went on the offensive and set out to attack Royal Navy warships in the North Sea. It proved an unpromising start.

Early tests and disasters

Ten U-boats sailed from Heligoland on 6 August to form a patrol line, with 11km between each boat near Dogger Bank. But within six days one had returned with one of its kerosene engines malfunctioning and two had been sunk. Kapitänleutnant Richard Pohle's U15 mounted the first attempted U-boat torpedo attack against three dreadnought battleships between the Shetland and Orkney Islands, narrowly missing HMS Monarch. The following day, in misty conditions, Pohle's boat was stationary on the surface when it was surprised by the light cruiser HMS Birmingham and rammed. All 25 crewmen were killed. The other U-boat lost, U13, simply vanished at sea. The Allies had yet to lay any minefields and the submarine was presumed to have been the victim of an unexplained accident.

Following this miserable debut, German naval staff saw little future in the U-boat, which had neither inflicted damage nor ascertained the purpose of the Royal Navy deployment, thereby also failing as a reconnaissance device. But Korvettenkapitän Hermann Bauer, appointed Führer der U-boote (FdU), remained convinced of their offensive capabilities despite orders to merely maintain a static defensive line within the Heligoland Bight. Potential redemption arrived when British heavy warships were reported in the Firth of Forth on the east coast of Scotland and Bauer was allowed to dispatch two U-boats to attack them. Kapitänleutnant Otto Hensing made history on 5 September 1914 when he sank the light cruiser HMS Pathfinder off St Abb's Head. Hit with a single torpedo from U21, the explosion detonated the ship's forward magazine and the ship broke in two. It sank so rapidly that only 29 crewmen survived.



U7, one of the early kerosene-engine U-boats, sunk on 21 January 1915 after being mistakenly torpedoed by U22

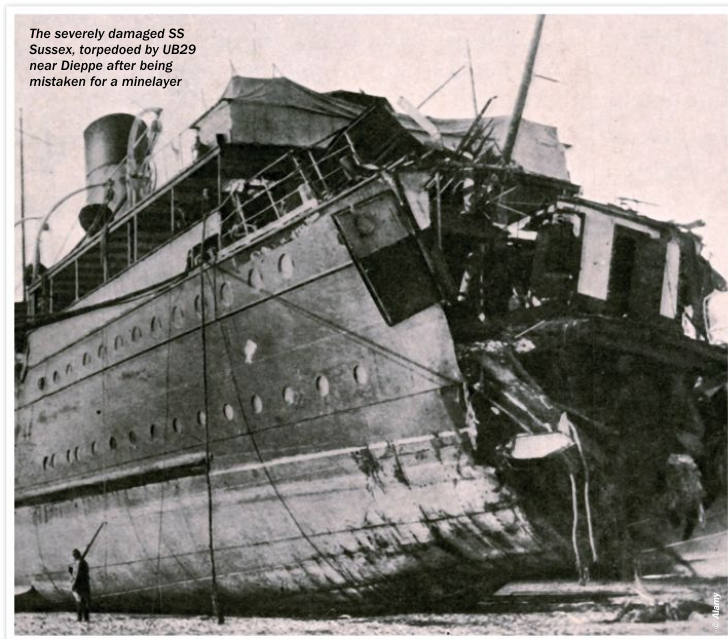
Two weeks later, Kapitänleutnant Otto Weddigen further proved the U-boat's offensive capabilities when his U9 torpedoed and sank three British cruisers HMS Aboukir, Cressy and Hogue within less than one hour, killing 1,459 men. And he didn't stop there: Weddigen sank the cruiser HMS Hawke on 15 October near Peterhead, with another 526 casualties. Alarmed at these sudden reversals and the U-boats' unexpected revival, the Royal Navy was aghast at the penetration of their Scapa Flow anchorage in the Orkney Islands by U18 in November. Though Kapitänleutnant Heinrich von Hennig's boat was rammed and forced to scuttle while attempting to leave the anchorage, it was only the fact that the Grand Fleet was elsewhere in the North Sea that saved it from attack. Scapa Flow was temporarily abandoned.

The British respond

While Royal Navy morale had taken a savage blow, the concept of U-boats engaging in a war on commerce appears to have been dismissed by Allied naval leaders. U-boats were governed by existing Prize Law defined by an international treaty of which Germany was a signatory. Prize Law demanded that a merchant ship suspected of carrying contraband material be stopped and searched. If verified as belligerent, the crew

Oberleutnants Wilhelm Ziegner and Hans Leo Usedom returning to port atop U93 from operations off the French coast





The severely damaged SS Sussex, torpedoed by UB29 near Dieppe after being mistaken for a minelayer



Leutnant zur See Rudolph Zentner, Watch Officer aboard U20 when it sank RMS Lusitania. Later, Zentner commanded U79

must be evacuated to a place of safety before the vessel was destroyed. The first merchant ship sunk by U-boat, on 20 October, was done so in accordance with these terms after Oberleutnant zur See Johannes Feldkirchner's U17 stopped 866-ton British steamer SS Glitra 22km off the Norwegian coast and placed a prize crew aboard. Deeming the cargo of oil, coal and iron plate to be contraband, Feldkirchner ordered the crew to their lifeboats and his men opened the steamer's seacocks, the lifeboats later towed towards the Norwegian coast and released in sight of land.

However, some predicted that submarines would be unable to stick to Prize Law, among them Britain's former First Sea Lord, Admiral Sir John 'Jacky' Fisher. Observing from his retirement the development of Germany's U-boats, he had presented a report to the British cabinet predicting their likely dominance in 20th century naval warfare and a latent inability for sparsely crewed submarines to comply fully with prize warfare rules. Unable to spare crewmen to capture enemy ships and vulnerable to enemy fire when surfaced, he foresaw that submarines would soon be forced to abandon Prize Law. Furthermore, the arming of merchant ships, whether as 'auxiliary

cruisers' or merely defensively, combined with instructions to report U-boat sightings or attempt to ram surfaced U-boats, removed treaty protection for those ships. Fisher's report was dismissed, with the First Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill dispatching a note to him commending his "excellent" paper but noting that it had been "marred by the prominence" given to the concept of a U-boat commerce war. "I do not believe," Churchill wrote, "this would ever be done by a civilised power." At the outbreak of war Fisher was recalled to the post of First Sea Lord, but most in the Royal Navy still believed a U-boat war on commerce was the least probable development. A decisive clash between main battle fleets was still considered most likely.

Escalation and the Lusitania

Six days after Glitra's sinking, U24 torpedoed without warning what Kapitänleutnant Rudolf Schneider believed to be a troopship, damaging French SS Amiral Ganteaume. The ship was carrying 2,500 Belgian refugees and although it didn't sink and was towed to Boulogne, 40 people were killed in the panic onboard. Torpedo fragments were soon recovered and the British press subsequently made much of 'German barbarity', though the Admiralty opined (correctly) that the attack had likely been a case of mistaken identity.

Schneider's attack also provoked controversy between naval leaders in Germany. While the German chancellor vociferously protested

any further such incidents, Admiral Hugo von Pohl, Chief of the Admiralty Staff, firmly agreed with Bauer's proposals to instigate a war on British mercantile shipping. Pohl's opinion had been greatly influenced by British mining of the eastern entrance to the English Channel and its declaration on 2 November that the entire North Sea was a war zone, effectively blockading Germany with the resultant seizure or destruction of all cargoes 'ultimately' bound for Germany. U-boats were the key to a counter-blockade, with the objective of starving Great Britain into submission as the war looked less and less likely to be 'over by Christmas'.

By January 1915 Pohl had convinced Grossadmiral Alfred von Tirpitz and the Imperial Admiralty Staff, by February the Chancellor. Subsequently, on 18 February Germany declared all waters around the British Isles and the English Channel a war zone in which all enemy ships would be destroyed and which neutrals should "navigate at their peril". (The exception being a "free from attack" channel north of the Shetlands, near Norway and along the Dutch coast.)

Following strong American protests, U-boat commanders were instructed not to attack hospital ships and those ships firmly identified as neutral, complicating their rules of engagement. Between February and September 1915, Germany claimed its 30 operational U-boats sank 480 ships (327 by British records), aggregating just over 800,000-tons, with 15 U-boats lost within the same period. However, during the whole of 1915, 52 new U-boats entered service, and by the beginning of 1916 front line strength stood at 44.

Among those ships sunk was 30,396-ton Cunard liner RMS Lusitania, torpedoed by

Kapitänleutnant Lothar von Arnauld de la Perière (second from left) and officers of U35; highest scoring submariner in history, sinking 195 ships (455,869-tons)



Q-BOATS

BRITAIN'S DECEPTION AT SEA

Allied Q-ships achieved notoriety among the U-boat service that would persist through two world wars



Above: Even the Q-ships' crewmen were dressed as merchant seamen to fool the enemy

Left: Q-ships looked like regular merchant vessels, but they were armed to the teeth with hidden guns

Countermeasures introduced to fight the U-boats included minefields, the defensive arming of merchant ships and the development of the Q-ship, or Q-boat. These were generally small tramp steamers, outwardly scruffy and unworthy of a torpedo, but equipped with hidden guns. As U-boats operated under Prize Law, these ships were designed to entice a U-boat into surfacing to sink the seemingly vulnerable Q-ship with gunfire or by scuttling. Once within range, a Q-ship's camouflaged guns would be revealed and would fire on the submarine. It's difficult to know the exact number of Q-ships used in the war – between 118 and 157 – as there were a variety of decoy vessels, but Q-ships sank at least ten U-boats, though losing 27 of their own.

Originally referred to by the Royal Navy as Special Service Vessels,

they were only officially designated Q-ships for a period during 1916, apparently in relation to the majority basing at Queenstown (now Cobh) in Ireland, where Vice-Admiral Lewis Bayly was charged with countering U-boat attacks within the Western Approaches. Somewhat ironically, this 'Q' title robbed them of their cover during construction and deployment as it was a sobriquet applied solely to U-boat 'decoy' vessels. However, it soon became a generalised unofficial term for any submarine decoy vessel.

It was not only the vessel that was camouflaged – the crewmen were clothed both at sea and ashore as merchant mariners in what Rear Admiral Gordon Campbell, former captain of HMS Farnborough (Q5) and winner of the Victoria Cross, called "outer slackness and inner discipline" in his memoir *My Mystery*

Ships. Once attacked, a 'panic party' would go through elaborate and rehearsed motions of abandoning ship in haste, hopefully encouraging the unwary U-boat to approach with a sense of security.

The first successful destruction of a U-boat by an unassisted Q-ship took place on 24 July 1915 when HMS Prince Charles — a 373-ton collier converted in Longhope, Orkney Island — encountered U36 off the Hebrides. The merchant crew had all volunteered to remain aboard under the command of Lieutenant Mark Wardlaw, with another naval officer and nine ratings to man the 3-pounder and 6-pounder guns as well as rifles distributed fore and aft. Kapitänleutnant Ernst Graeff was inspecting Danish SS Louise according to Prize Law when Prince Charles was sighted and U36 began shelling her. At a range of 300 yards

Wardlaw opened fire, hitting the U-boat, which was scuttled. Fifteen survivors, including Graeff, were later rescued. Wardlaw was awarded the Distinguished Service Order, two of the crew the Distinguished Service Medal, and £1,000 was given to be divided among the mercantile crew.

Perhaps the most infamous Q-ship was HMS Baralong, which sank U27 in the Western Approaches on 19 August 1915. Kapitänleutnant Bernd Wegener and ten crewmen survived the sinking but were executed under orders from Baralong's captain, Lieutenant Godfrey Herbert. However, with the introduction of the unrestricted campaign in 1917 and subsequent convoying, the usefulness of the Q-ships came to an end. German U-boat commanders had also become aware of the potential threat, the grave perception of which persisted into the next war.



A U-boat attempts to finish off a steamer with gunfire

Above: Loading an external torpedo tube of a Type UCIII minelaying U-boat

Kapitänleutnant Walter Schweiger's U20 without warning on 7 May after being misidentified as an armed merchant cruiser. Despite Lusitania carrying munitions as part of its cargo, and therefore considered a legitimate target, the death of 1,198 passengers and crew, including 128 Americans, led to a barrage of condemnation and demands that Germany cease attacks on commercial shipping. Particularly keen to assuage American anger, the German Chancellor henceforth prohibited U-boat attacks on all passenger ships whether neutral or belligerent. However, two British liners were sunk in August and September – SS Arabic by U24 and RMS Hesperian by U20 – leading to additional diplomatic pressure and escalating fears of armed conflict with the United States.

As a result, on 18 September, Admiral Henning von Holtzendorff, head of the Imperial Admiralty Staff, ordered all U-boats withdrawn from the Western Approaches and English Channel to the North Sea, where they were to once again wage war strictly within Prize Rules. Rather than return U-boats to this untenable position, Pohl instead also withdrew from the North Sea and, influenced by a suggestion from Kaiser Wilhelm, opened a fresh campaign within the Mediterranean Sea, where few American ships were encountered. The U-boats' first commerce offensive was over – despite some successes it had failed to inflict grievous losses on British shipping or dissuade neutral merchant traffic from traversing potentially dangerous waters to Britain.

Stalemate and renewed attacks

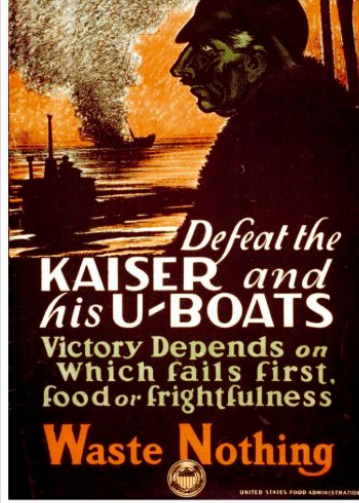
A U-boat blockade required greater numbers as well as the removal of politically motivated limitations. While in Britain Churchill gloried in the U-boats' 'defeat', it was a reversal of Germany's own governmental decisions rather than British victory by combat. Nonetheless, by the beginning of 1916 the British blockade of Germany began to bite, with shortages in food and clothing on the home front. In response, the German General Staff planned a two-fold thrust against their enemies. First the French Army would be bled to death by an offensive at Verdun, planned to knock France out of the war by the year's end, and second, the U-boat anti-commerce campaign against Britain would be resumed to choke off its maritime supply. Aware of the dangers of stalemate and attrition, von Holtzendorff had modified his viewpoint and become an enthusiastic proponent of a resumed U-boat campaign, though with restrictions. While enemy merchant vessels could be sunk without warning within the declared war zone, and armed merchant vessels wherever they were found, all identified neutrals remained subject to prize rules and passenger liners were completely off limits.

The new offensive opened in February 1916 and although resultant U-boat success appeared similar to the previous year, the effect was compounded by greater demands being placed upon British mercantile traffic. Various military fronts required merchant shipping for supply, and shipyards were rammed to capacity with repairs to both civilian and military vessels.

Though falling short of the targets for tonnage sunk per month which could theoretically bring Britain to its knees (underestimated by von Holtzendorff to be 160,000-tons) U-boat pressure became more noticeable, until repercussions of a fresh incident resurrected fears of United States involvement.

On 24 March Oberleutnant zur See Herbert Pustkuchen in UB29 torpedoed a suspected minelayer near Dieppe, severely damaging French cross-Channel passenger steamer SS Sussex. It was carrying 325 passengers from Folkestone to Dieppe, including 25 Americans, some of whom were among the 50 killed by the explosion. President Woodrow Wilson directly threatened war unless Germany restricted its U-boat operations and though von Holtzendorff and others balked at doing so, the new Chief of the Admiralty Staff, Admiral Reinhard Scheer, who had replaced the cancer-stricken Pohl, cancelled the new offensive on 25 April. All U-boats in the North Sea and around Britain were recalled by radio. Scheer was unwilling to use U-boats under strict Prize Law, intending instead to use them thereafter "in purely military enterprises".

A failed attempt to ambush the British Grand Fleet immediately before the Battle of Jutland pitted its undiminished strength against the German High Seas Fleet in an inconclusive struggle that ultimately proved a strategic victory for Britain. Afterwards, the German fleet never sortied in strength again. The U-boat remained Germany's only naval hope and on 4 July Scheer reported directly to the Kaiser that



Left: The brutal image of the U-boat was immortalised in dozens of propaganda and enlisting posters circulated by Allied nations

© Alamy

"THE U-BOATS WERE ONLY FINALLY BEATEN BY GERMANY'S INTERNAL COLLAPSE IN OCTOBER 1918"

"a victorious end to the war within a reasonable time can only be achieved through the defeat of economic life". During 1916 his words were proven true. As the British blockade inflicted greater hardship, France was not neutralised at Verdun, though greatly diminished. At the Somme, both sides bled massively, while on the Eastern Front, Austro-Hungarian troops were in retreat. German army reserves in the west were stripped to the bone to prevent catastrophe in the east. Conferences at the highest level in Germany fiercely debated an unrestricted U-boat campaign as the only possible option left for Germany. However, fears of provoking not only the United States but also Holland and Denmark were insurmountable. The compromise of a new commerce campaign in home waters, in accordance with Prize Law, was authorised for October 1916.

Germany's gamble

During 1916, 108 new U-boats entered service, including larger 'cruiser' models capable of greater weapon loads and longer range, and shipping losses mounted appreciably as Britain struggled to find counter measures. Von Holtzendorff upgraded his previously required tonnage-sunk estimate to 600,000-tons monthly to achieve decisive results, and an average monthly figure of over 300,000-tons was reached during the autumn despite restrictions. The mathematicians did not lie and von Holtzendorff forcefully argued for limitations to be removed during a Crown Council meeting between Wilhelm and military

and political chiefs at the Kaiser's residence in Pless, Silesia, on 9 January. Likely American reaction was finally dismissed; not only after two years of empty threats but also in the belief that with a successful campaign, Britain could be brought to its knees within five months, long before an American army could be shipped to the front lines in Europe.

None of the assembled men were in doubt of the severity of an unrestricted campaign and likely international condemnation. Nor were they in doubt that without it, Germany was all but finished as Britain's economic warfare inflicted ever harsher conditions on the German home front. Food shortages were acute, and clothes were now manufactured from anything, even paper. The Kaiser concurred and a new mercantile campaign of U-boat warfare, waged with the "utmost severity", was to begin on 1 February 1917, fought by 105 U-boats: 69 in the Atlantic and off the Flanders coast, 23 in the Mediterranean, 10 in the Baltic and three at Constantinople. All shipping was open to attack without warning within principal war zones encompassing the British Isles, extending 400 nautical miles from the west coast of France, the Mediterranean Sea except Spanish coastal waters, and a lane provided for Greek steamers. During March, the Barents Sea was added, followed by most of the North Atlantic.

The results were spectacular. U-boats destroyed 25% of all Britain-bound shipping and reduced the nation's supply of wheat to a six-week stockpile. The climactic month of April 1917 witnessed 413 ships destroyed

totalling 873,754-tons: a figure never surpassed in either world war. Prompted in part by American shipping losses, the United States declared war on Germany on 6 April. Nevertheless, results appeared to justify the risks; neutral shipping was dissuaded from trading with Britain and shipyards choked with damaged ships. However, although America would be tardy in fielding an army, its naval power provided invaluable reinforcements at sea and finally allowed the institution of mercantile convoying. This defensive measure, beyond all else, robbed U-boats of their ability to inflict the fatal wound. Despite Bauer's recommendation of Rudeltaktik – coordinated group attacks to overwhelm convoy defences – the Imperial Navy instead relied on throwing ever more U-boats individually into the fray. Despite inflicting grievous casualties, they were never able to surmount the defensive strength of convoying.

Though faced with gradually improving anti-submarine warfare tactics and technology, including depth charges and aircraft patrols, the U-boats were only finally beaten by Germany's internal collapse in October 1918. It had lost 178 U-boats during the war but retained an operational fleet of 171 at the time of the November armistice, with 149 in construction. Ironically, the Allies' mistaken belief that they had mastered U-boats in combat, rather than the power of convoying, led to lessons being forgotten until a punishing reminder was delivered by Karl Dönitz, beginning in 1939.

© Getty



CRETE 20 MAY – 1 JUNE 1941



Great Battles



CRETE 1941

The Germans launched the first ever mass airborne invasion in history to seize the island from Greek, British and Commonwealth forces

WORDS JONATHAN TRIGG

General Kurt Student, who led the attack on Crete, inspects his paratroopers



One-hundred kilometres from the mainland, Crete is the second-largest of the Greek islands, a strip of land measuring 258km from east to west and just 12km at its narrowest. Dominated by the White Mountains that form its spine, it has a rich history of invasion and occupation, with the Romans, Arabs and Venetians among others all having left their mark, especially on the likes of Khania, Rhethymnon and Heraklion on its more populated northern coast. Historically fought over, it had been a relative backwater for years until World War II erupted and thrust it centre stage in the spring of 1941.

The Mediterranean war

Fascist Italy took the lead for the Axis in the Mediterranean, its military weakness cruelly exposed by the December 1940 British offensive in the western desert that almost wiped out Mussolini's forces in North Africa and saw more than 130,000 dispirited Italians shuffle into captivity. However, with total victory within its grasp, British Middle Eastern Command was ordered by London to send its best troops to Greece, where an earlier failed Italian invasion had forced Hitler's hand. There, on the morning of Sunday 6 April

1941, Generalfeldmarschall Wilhelm List's 12th Army crossed the Greek frontier and proceeded to drive the British into a hasty retreat that ended just over three weeks later with the evacuation of the British force back to Egypt.

Not all, however, arrived in Alexandria – some were dropped off in Crete instead. There, they joined the existing garrison and provided a much-needed reinforcement in numbers, but not much else, the defeat in Greece having cost the already miserly equipped British and Commonwealth forces 8,000 vehicles, 233 guns, 104 tanks and most of the rest of their heavy equipment. Most disastrous of all, the Royal Air Force had lost 209 irreplaceable aircraft in the skies above Greece, meaning it had barely a handful of modern fighters and bombers to support the ground troops and Royal Navy.

Imperial Lion vs Nazi Eagle

Nevertheless, the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill thought he had an answer – General Sir Bernard Freyberg VC. Freyberg was a living legend. A New Zealander nicknamed the 'Salamander' by Churchill for his determination to be in the heat of the action, he had won a Victoria Cross in World War I and commanded the 2nd New Zealand Division in the Greek campaign. Courageous,

OPPOSING FORCES



BRITISH, ALLIED & COMMONWEALTH FORCES

LEADERS

Major-General Sir Bernard C Freyberg VC & Admiral Andrew Cunningham

UNITED KINGDOM

17,000

GREECE

10,000 (including 1,000 paramilitary gendarmes)

NEW ZEALAND

7,700

AUSTRALIA

6,500

TOTAL

41,200

ARMOUR

25 Matilda and Mk VIIB Vickers light tanks

GUNS

Approximately 100 anti-aircraft and artillery pieces

VS



GERMAN AND AXIS FORCES

LEADERS

General der Flieger Kurt Student & General der Gebirgstruppe Julius 'Papa' Ringel

FALLSCHIRMJÄGERS (PARATROOPERS)

11,000

GEORGISJÄGERS (MOUNTAIN TROOPERS)

12,000

ITALIAN ARMY

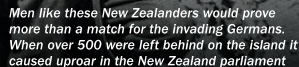
3,000

TOTAL

26,000

AIRCRAFT

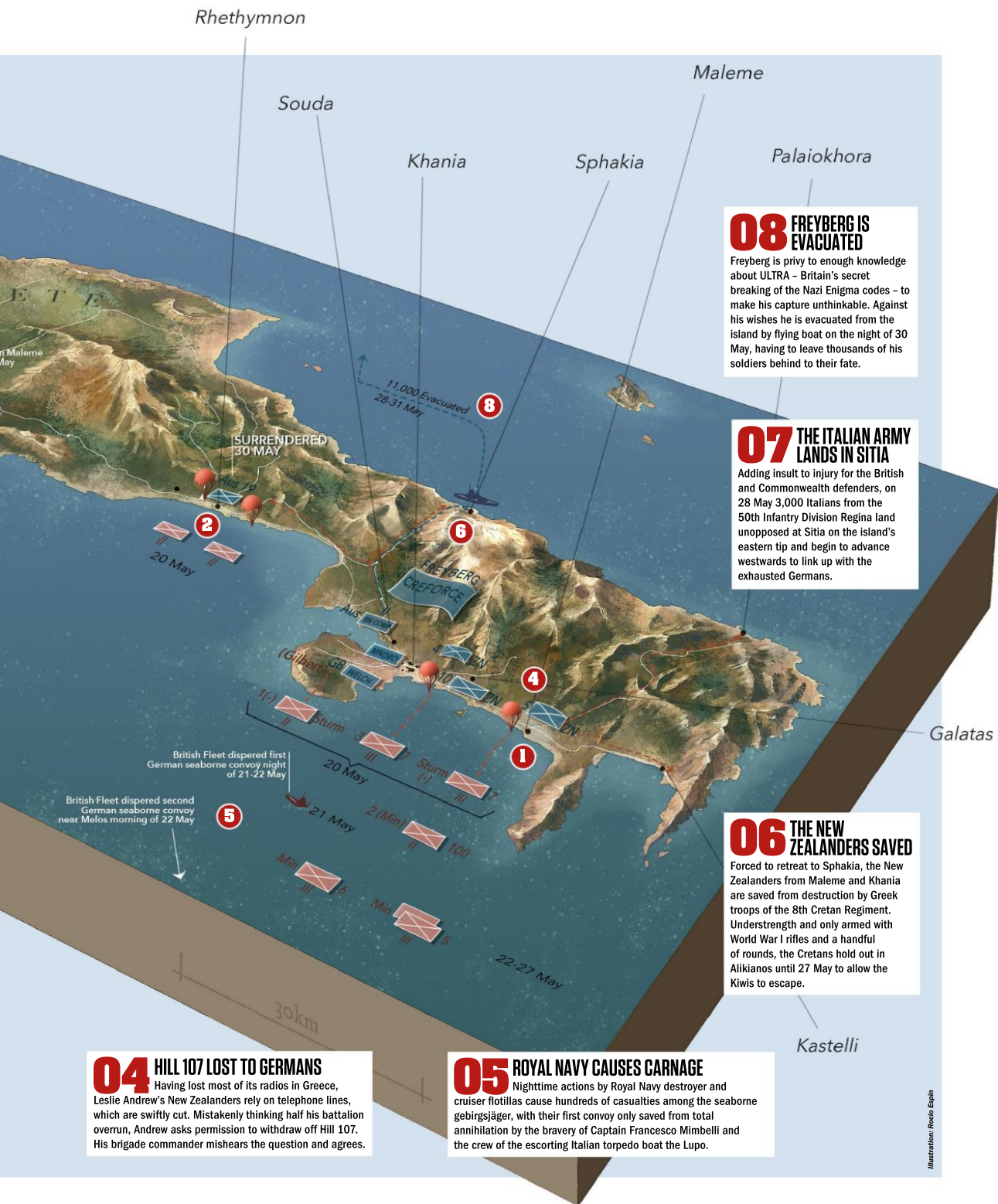
570 (including Stuka dive-bombers, 500 transport aircraft and gliders)



Briefed to his commanders in a second-floor suite of Athens' Hotel Grande Bretagne in "a quiet, clear and slightly vibrant voice", as one of them later remembered, Student's Mercury was a colossus. Split into three groups, the nearly 11,000 men of 7th Flieger Division would land and seize, Khania, the nearby airfield at Maleme, and then Rhethymnon and Heraklion further along the coast. They would be reinforced by Ringel's mountain troopers, who would both fly in to captured air strips and be ferried in by sea. Student's intelligence head, Major Reinhardt, assured the assembled group that there were only around 5,000 defenders and the Cretans themselves would welcome the invaders – it would be a walkover. He would be wrong on all counts.

*Failed to arrive





08 FREYBERG IS EVACUATED

Freyberg is privy to enough knowledge about ULTRA – Britain's secret breaking of the Nazi Enigma codes – to make his capture unthinkable. Against his wishes he is evacuated from the island by flying boat on the night of 30 May, having to leave thousands of his soldiers behind to their fate.

07 THE ITALIAN ARMY LANDS IN SITIA

Adding insult to injury for the British and Commonwealth defenders, on 28 May 3,000 Italians from the 50th Infantry Division Regina land unopposed at Sitia on the island's eastern tip and begin to advance westwards to link up with the exhausted Germans.

06 THE NEW ZEALANDERS SAVED

Forced to retreat to Sphakia, the New Zealanders from Maleme and Khania are saved from destruction by Greek troops of the 8th Cretan Regiment. Understrength and only armed with World War I rifles and a handful of rounds, the Cretans hold out in Alikianos until 27 May to allow the Kiwis to escape.

04 HILL 107 LOST TO GERMANS

Having lost most of its radios in Greece, Leslie Andrew's New Zealanders rely on telephone lines, which are swiftly cut. Mistakenly thinking half his battalion overrun, Andrew asks permission to withdraw off Hill 107. His brigade commander mishears the question and agrees.

05 ROYAL NAVY CAUSES CARNAGE

Nighttime actions by Royal Navy destroyer and cruiser flotillas cause hundreds of casualties among the German *gebirgsjäger*, with their first convoy only saved from total annihilation by the bravery of Captain Francesco Mimbelli and the crew of the escorting Italian torpedo boat the *Lupo*.

20 May: D-day

Well before dawn thousands of paratroopers heard the command: "To the aircraft, march!" Each man held the metal clip end of the long static cord in his mouth, leaving his hands free to pull himself up into the belly of the aircraft. Then, he fastened the clip onto the jump-wire running at head height inside the plane. Each then took their seat, armed only with a pistol, all their other weapons and equipment packed into the four containers already loaded into the bomb bay. The containers would be dropped with them, but until they reached them the paras would be virtually defenceless.

The Luftwaffe had concentrated the bulk of its transport fleet of Ju 52s – Auntie Jus as they were nicknamed – and as the 500 aircraft headed south the sky brightened, promising a hot sunny day. Just after 0800hrs, as the Allied garrison stirred, Major Humphrey Dyer of the New Zealand Maori Battalion heard "a continuous, low roar. Above the horizon there appeared a long black line as if a flock of migrating birds... We looked, spellbound". On board the armada the bulkhead lights were red – two minutes to go – then they changed to green. Adolf Strauch, of the 2nd Battalion, Oberst Alfred Sturm's 2nd Parachute Regiment, recalled: "...we moved to the exit door on the port side of the aircraft... we could feel the air blowing in... he [our sergeant] flung himself forward and out of the machine to be followed by the rest of us in quick succession. When each man jumped the Ju bounced upwards a little as the load was lightened". On the ground, Peter Butler recalled: "There was perhaps a minute's awestruck inactivity while people realised what was going on, then firing started from all over the area." Another defender said it was "like the opening of the duck shooting season... it was a concentration of some of the best small-arms fire I've ever seen".

What followed was a slaughter. The slow transports made perfect targets, with aircraft riddled by fire, dozens of paratroopers dying before even jumping. Those that did manage to jump were shot at as they floated down, unable to steer themselves due to the design of their parachutes. Many that did reach the ground were killed before they could arm themselves. Bill Ritchie had just completed his morning ablutions when "a parachutist dropped near me and all I had with me was a spade; fortunately, I got him before he got out of his chute". The 750 Germans in gliders were supposedly better off than their aircraft-borne comrades as they were fully armed and so could fight from the moment they touched down, but their wood and fabric gliders drew horrendous fire. "They came in so low you couldn't miss," said Butler. "I saw one man firing a Bren [light machine-gun] from

his shoulder literally tearing a glider to pieces – bits were flying off it. It landed about 20 yards away and only one man got out. He made about two steps before he was cut down."

Large as the air armada was, it still wasn't enough to take in all the paratroopers in one wave, so that afternoon a second assault went in, to the east. They met the same fate. By now alerted to what was coming, the defenders mauled the slow-flying transports, with one gunner seeing "planes burst into flames, then the crew inside feverishly leaping out like plums spilled from a burst bag. Some were burning as they jumped to earth. I saw one aircraft flying out to sea with six men trailing from it in the cord of their chutes".

In the balance

Miraculously, some Fallschirmjäger survived the carnage and began to fight back. In isolated groups they took cover wherever they could and fought it out with Freyberg's men and Cretan civilians, who, far from welcoming them, were determined to wipe them out, as one group

under a Lieutenant Paul Muerbe discovered to their cost: "The platoon... became involved with strong guerrilla bands... of 73 men, Lieutenant Muerbe and 52 men were killed."

Heartened by reports from across the island, Freyberg signalled Middle East Command that, although a hard day, his men had seen off the German threat. But a lack of effective communications and an inability to understand the type of battle he was actually fighting blinded him to the reality that it was far from over, and in fact was being decided at the far west of his line at Maleme. Maleme's airstrip was the Germans' main objective that first day. Take it and they would be able to fly in the reinforcements and matériel that would win them the battle. Student knew this implicitly and threw everything he had at it.

The key to Maleme was Hill 107, a feature rising up to the west that dominated the area. Held by a single battalion, the 22nd New Zealand, it came under sustained attack from the start. Eugen Meindl – the senior German officer in the landings – gathered

General Kurt Student thought the attack on Crete would be a walkover – he was wrong



Fallschirmjäger move into action after touching down in Crete. Dozens were blown out to sea on 20 May and drowned, while some landed in a bamboo thicket and were impaled



"LIKE THE OPENING OF THE DUCK SHOOTING SEASON... IT WAS A CONCENTRATION OF SOME OF THE BEST SMALL-ARMS FIRE I'VE EVER SEEN"



Victorious German troops march into Heraklion. The port city was a vital strategic target

up every paratrooper, gun and mortar he could find and desperately tried to take it. Under immense pressure, and in a welter of poor communication and misunderstanding, the New Zealanders' commanding officer – the VC-holder Leslie Andrew – withdrew off the hill that night, and with it the battle was lost. Counterattacks to retake it were later launched but not followed through – one supported by two Matilda tanks failed when one of the tanks broke down and the other's turret mechanism jammed at the same time as the crew realised they had the wrong calibre of ammunition. Freyberg, still obsessing over a seaborne attack, failed to see that with Maleme the Germans already had a beachhead.

Battle at sea

The seaborne armada Freyberg so feared was a paper tiger. With the Kriegsmarine having no real presence in the eastern Mediterranean, Ringel had been forced to cobble together a makeshift force of some 63 vessels – mostly requisitioned Greek fishing caiques powered by a sail and a small auxiliary engine – escorted by a single

Italian torpedo boat, the Lupo. Putting to sea, they crawled towards Crete at a sluggish seven knots, until on the night of 20/21 May they were found by Rear Admiral Irvine Glennie's three cruisers and four destroyers. Most of the terrified gebirgsjäger had never been on a ship before and now "the sky was filled with brilliant white parachute flares that lit up whole areas of the sea... shells began to explode on the caique... we could see our boys jumping into the sea... the lieutenant told us to put on our life jackets and remove our heavy nailed boots". Another remembered: "Our caique suddenly turned over... and we were all flung into the sea... some of our casualties were caused when jägers were run down by the [British] ships." The German fleet was effectively destroyed and hundreds of men were drowned.

However, while the Royal Navy ruled the waves during darkness, it was a different story when the sun came up. With no air cover the Luftwaffe hunted Glennie and the rest of Admiral Andrew Cunningham's force across the sparkling waters of the Mediterranean. HMS Greyhound was the first to be sunk, followed by two cruisers: the Gloucester and

Fiji. Darkness brought respite, but not for long as five destroyers under the command of Lord Louis Mountbatten found themselves pounded by Stukas the following dawn. The Kelly and the Kashmir were sent to the bottom in quick succession, and with their loss Cunningham felt the Navy's defence of Crete was untenable.

21 May D-day + 1

Hauptmann Kleye – an officer on Student's staff – was sent by his boss to find out what was going on and landed at Maleme at around 0700hrs on the morning of the 21 May. Although he came under fire, he reported the airfield as useable and from then on a steady stream of aircraft began to arrive, ferrying in desperately needed ammunition and supplies, but more importantly reinforcements and heavy weapons. Most of those fresh troops were Ringel's gebirgsjäger and, supported by masses of Luftwaffe firepower, they began to roll up the British and Commonwealth positions from west to east.

Having come within an ace of losing the battle and the Third Reich's only parachute division, Student was left kicking his heels



Two Commonwealth soldiers pictured in Alexandria, Egypt, after being evacuated from Crete



A burning German Junkers Ju 52 over Crete. The loss of so many of transports and their crews during the invasion was crippling, and a major factor in the failure of the Stalingrad airlift 18 months later

as the cautious and methodical Ringel took over the campaign. Freyberg's command was effectively split into three, with the troops in Rethymnon and Heraklion caught in their own struggles as the courageous New Zealanders fought on in Khania.

Helmut Mahlke was a Stuka pilot flying overhead: "At 1000hrs on 26 May we attacked an enemy tented encampment on Crete... we flew at low level up and down the roads, bombing any worthwhile targets and machine-gunning individual vehicles of every description... there was very little flak to speak of."

The efforts of Mahlke and his comrades were decisive. Constant air attack caused terrible losses and robbed the remaining defenders of any ability to coordinate their efforts and counterattack, and even if they had it begged the question: with what? They had hardly any heavy weapons, with most of their artillery being captured Italian and French models, many without sights or more than a few rounds. Almost all their armour

had already been destroyed or rendered unusable, they had no air cover, and even rifle ammunition was becoming scarce.

Crete abandoned

The same morning that Mahlke made his ground attack the exhausted Freyberg cabled Cairo: "In my opinion the limit of endurance has been reached by the troops under my command... our position here is hopeless." Shocked at what they regarded as a sudden turnaround in fortune, permission was reluctantly given to evacuate the island. The surviving troops from Khania headed south on the single road to the small port town of Sphakia. Mercilessly bombed and strafed by the Luftwaffe, a Scottish officer – Freddie Graham – described the retreat: "The road was jammed with troops in no formed bodies shambling along in desperate haste. Dirty, weary and hungry, they were a conglomeration of Australians, a few New Zealanders and British, and Greek refugees... a rabble one could call them, nothing else."

As thousands of dispirited British and Commonwealth troops streamed south, those at Rethymnon and Heraklion bravely fought on. Lieutenant-Colonel Ian Campbell of the Australian 2/1st was leading his men against a German position in Perivolia: "Nine men were ordered to move to a low stone wall

about 25 yards from the German front line... they raced along the low hedge to a well. The leader, Corporal Tom Willoughby, was nearly there before he fell. The man carrying the Bren went down. Someone following picked it up and went on until he was killed, and so the gun was relayed until it almost reached the well in the hands of the last man, and he was killed too as he went down with it. Eight brave men died there... the ninth man, Private Proud, was hit on the helmet as he jumped up and fell back stunned."

Even as Graham's "rabble" reached Sphakia, the Royal Navy was steeling itself to run the gauntlet and save as much of the garrison as it could. In an heroic effort worthy of the finest traditions of the senior service, starting on the night of 28 May, Cunningham's warships evacuated almost 11,000 men from the southern port, and another 4,000 from Heraklion on the northern coast.

"IN MY OPINION THE LIMIT OF ENDURANCE HAS BEEN REACHED BY THE TROOPS UNDER MY COMMAND... OUR POSITION HERE IS HOPELESS"

By the morning of 1 June it was over. British and Commonwealth losses included just under 2,000 dead and the same number wounded, with another 5,000 left behind to trudge into captivity, one of whom was Campbell, whose mighty defence of Rhethymnon counted for naught as the Navy was unable to reach him and his gallant men, forcing them to surrender.

Terrible though these figures were, they were overshadowed by the German tally.

Some 6,580 men were killed, wounded or missing, half of this number being paratroopers killed on the first day of the operation. The Germans also lost some 150 transport aircraft, which would be sorely missed in the upcoming invasion of the Soviet Union. But it was the heavy losses among the ranks of the elite fallschirmjäger that were the most damaging. One of the best-trained, best-equipped and most highly motivated spearhead formations in the entire Wehrmacht had been gutted in less than a fortnight.

One of their number who survived, Adolf Strauch, reflected on an operation in which "every third man had been killed, every second man wounded. Our victory was no victory". His commander, Student, agreed: "The battle of Crete... resulted in the loss of so many valuable parachutists that it meant the end of the German airborne landing forces which I had created."



Julius Ringel's 5th Gebirgsjäger (mountain) Division was a late addition to the Nazi invasion plan



German paratroopers retrieve weapons that were dropped by parachute during the attack on Crete



Allied soldiers surrender after their position was overrun

BAY_{OF} PIGS

"We wanted to bring freedom"

© Johnny Lopez de la Cruz



Johnny Lopez de la Cruz pictured in Havana, 20 July 1960

Colonel Johnny Lopez de la Cruz (US Army, Retd.) was one of 1,500 Cuban exiles who attempted to overthrow Fidel Castro's communist dictatorship 60 years ago

WORDS: TOM GARNER

In April 1961, President John F Kennedy told a confidant: "I have had two full days of hell – I haven't slept – this has been the most excruciating period of my life. I doubt my presidency could survive another catastrophe like that."

What Kennedy was describing was a foreign policy disaster of his own making – the Bay of Pigs Invasion. A botched attempt to overthrow the Cuban communist leader Fidel Castro, the invasion saw a CIA-trained unit of Cuban exiles known as Brigade 2506 land on Cuba's southern coast on 17 April 1961. However, Kennedy's attempts to simultaneously distance the USA from the operation led to the brigade's comprehensive defeat.

Bay of Pigs strengthened Castro's regime, pushed Cuba into closer alignment with the Soviet Union and laid the foundations for the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. Caught in the middle of this struggle were the defeated members of Brigade 2506, the majority of whom had been captured. Among their number was a 20-year-old paratrooper called Juan 'Johnny' Lopez de la Cruz. Now a retired US Army colonel, Lopez de la Cruz reveals how he parachuted into Cuba, survived a brutal captivity, escaped from a Havana prison and why he still fights for his country's freedom.

Opposing Castro

Born in 1940, Lopez de la Cruz grew up in the city of Manzanillo in southeast Cuba. During his teenage years the country was ruled by the pro-American military dictator Fulgencio Batista, but he recalls that life for many Cubans was prosperous: "Life under Batista

was nothing like living under Castro. Batista was obviously a dictator because he came to power in a coup d'état. However, it was the 'Roaring 50s' in Cuba. The economy was good and the Cuban peso was equal to the American dollar. The job situation was also good until the late 1950s when problems arose because of the Cuban Revolution."

Castro's armed opposition to Batista caused a violent revolution that inflicted great suffering on civilians. "There was a lot of corruption in the government but Castro should never have gone to war," says Lopez de la Cruz. "The people's security and safety was jeopardised because there were bombings in public places and the years 1957-58 were pretty rough."

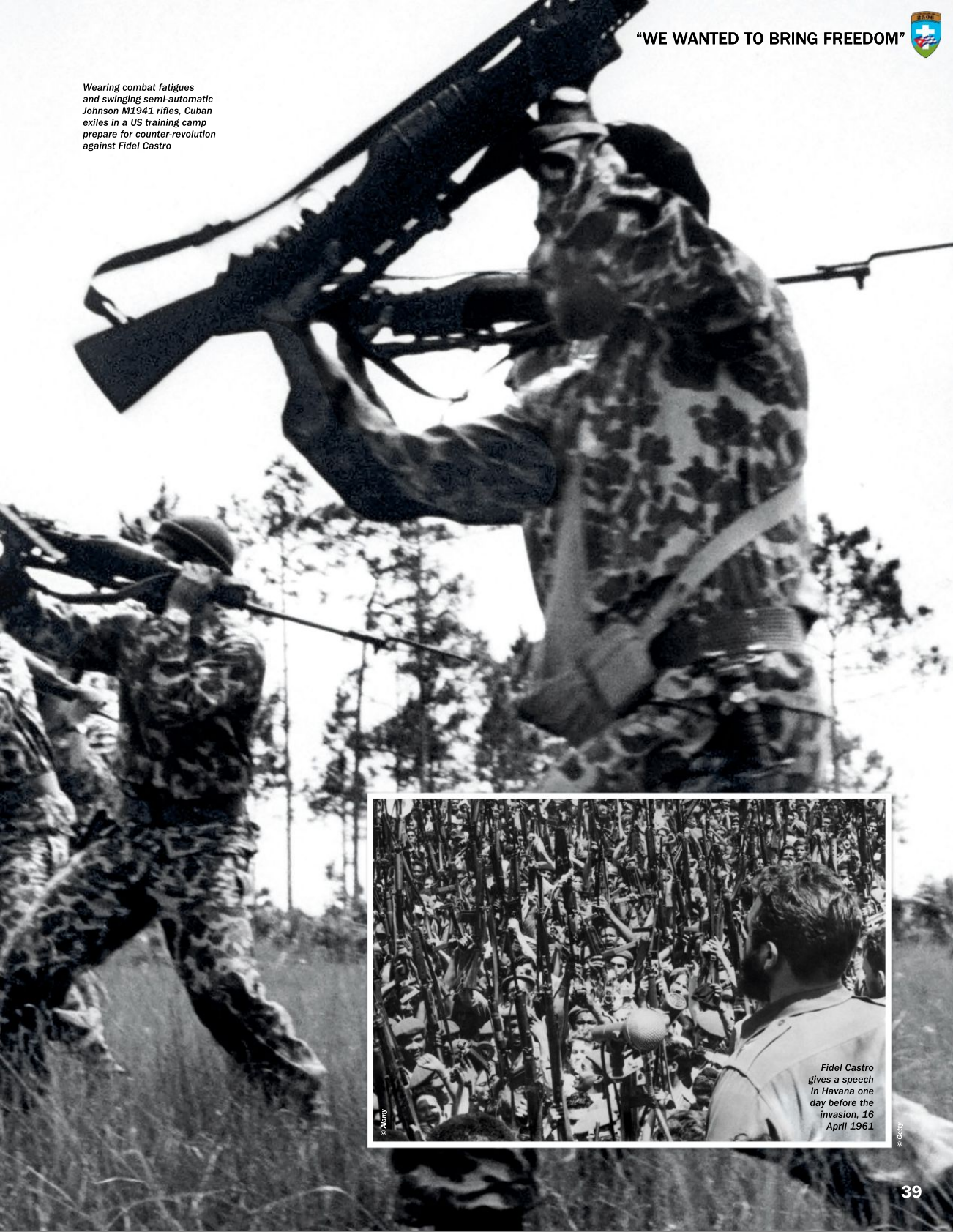
"Due to the situation many people thought that they had to support Castro so they could get back to the good times. That obviously never happened because when he took over he had a different ideology. He had a programme to call elections in one year but when the time came he said, 'We can wait.' It became a communist dictatorship right there."

Batista was overthrown in 1959 and Lopez de la Cruz, who had initially supported Castro, quickly became disaffected. "When I was 18 I participated in the revolution by supplying things and writing on walls like a lot of other students," he says. "However, it didn't take much time for me to change my mind when Castro took over and they started executing people for just about anything. If you were against him, that was enough to be executed. This was not good for the country, and the communists also started taking over private properties. We were seeing communism





Wearing combat fatigues and swinging semi-automatic Johnson M1941 rifles, Cuban exiles in a US training camp prepare for counter-revolution against Fidel Castro



Fidel Castro gives a speech in Havana one day before the invasion, 16 April 1961

© Getty

coming and by 1960 we started to do a lot of work for a counterrevolution.”

Lopez de la Cruz joined the Christian Democratic Party (CDP), which opposed Castro. Because of the political upheaval, he had deferred attending university and was working for a bank while he engaged in the CDP's counterrevolutionary activities. It soon became apparent that he would have to leave Cuba. “A couple of people who worked with me were captured by Castro's forces and put in jail,” he says. “The people that were responsible for my group decided that I and a few others needed to get out of the country. We already

knew about the training camps that had been established [for exiles], so when I left Cuba I knew that my objective was to reach them so that I could eventually return.”

Brigade 2506

With Castro's forces already searching for him, Lopez de la Cruz left Cuba by plane with a false permit in July 1960 and arrived in Miami. The CIA had been recruiting anti-Castro Cuban exiles in Florida since May 1960. They formed a brigade of guerrilla fighters who were to invade Cuba and depose Castro. Training camps were established in Guatemala for the newly formed

Brigade 2506, with Lopez de la Cruz waiting for a month to join his fellow exiles. “During my 30 days in Miami I worked in the offices of the CDP before 20 others and I took the second flight to Guatemala. We were expecting to find a very established camp but just found a few tents. We spent some time establishing the camp before we started guerrilla training. We came from every social class in Cuba – there were farmers, labourers, students and doctors. In other words, it was a representation of the Cuban people.”

The exiles may have come from a wide variety of backgrounds but they mostly had no military experience. “I hadn't done training at all



but I used to be a Boy Scout. My hobbies had been hunting and fishing so I was very familiar with weapons and scouting knowledge. All of us were basically students. I became the second-in-command of a guerrilla company before I was asked to join the airborne battalion as D Company's second-in-command."

At the beginning of Lopez de la Cruz's training America was governed by President Dwight D Eisenhower, whose administration planned a guerrilla campaign for the brigade. However, when Kennedy was elected president in November 1960 the CIA's plan altered. "Kennedy wanted changes in the plan and the

CIA also knew that Castro was getting MiG-15 aircraft with trained pilots. This was going to make the guerrilla plan unsuccessful because the aircraft were too powerful. The plan changed from guerrilla to conventional warfare with battalions and companies."

Meanwhile, Lopez de la Cruz undertook paratrooper training. "My first jump was very exciting, although it was very rudimentary. However, I was 20 years old and full of energy so it came naturally." This enthusiasm was shared across the brigade. "Morale was very high – you could feel it. Our main motive was to get back to Cuba because we wanted to bring

freedom to the Cubans again. That was the motivation we needed to be an effective force."

The brigade's high morale was partially due to the government they hoped to install after a successful campaign. "Many people think that we were just a military force that was going to take over the country. Brigade 2506 was actually the military arm of a temporary government that was to be established. Several well-known politicians left Cuba to form a provisional government that was recognised by the USA. They would become our government and one member came with the invasion force as a representative."

"MORALE WAS VERY HIGH – YOU COULD FEEL IT. OUR MAIN MOTIVE WAS TO GET BACK TO CUBA BECAUSE WE WANTED TO BRING FREEDOM TO THE CUBANS AGAIN"

Cuban Army artillery fires on Brigade 2506 as they invade a beachhead



The CIA-chartered transport ship Houston was bombed by the Cuban Air Force during the invasion, with Brigade 2506 suffering casualties on board



Castro's forces pictured with an anti-aircraft gun at Playa de Citron

The exiles were not aiming to restore Batista but re-establish an older democracy. "The Cuban Constitution of 1940 was going to be re-established. Castro had eliminated it and came up with a constitution of his own. However, the Constitution of 1940 was very advanced for the time and the provisional government would be very independent."

Catastrophic strategy

Despite the brigade's commitment, their plans were doomed before the invasion began.

"Kennedy really didn't want to [proceed with the invasion] but it was too late to stop it. All the decisions at that time were basically the wrong ones. The landing place was changed from a little town that had a good bay with port facilities. However, we didn't have any at the Bay of Pigs itself so it was a very bad decision.

"Also, Kennedy was looking for plausible deniability. He wanted to say, 'The US is not involved in this,' which was silly. How come a group of Cubans with no money were buying aeroplanes and weapons? It was ridiculous but that's what Kennedy wanted because he wanted to say that America was not involved."

Kennedy's half-hearted approach was reflected in the bungled preliminary American bombing campaign against

Castro's air force. "There were going to be strikes against three military airbases in Cuba where all of Castro's aircraft were located during the two days before the invasion. It was partially successful but some strikes were cancelled. Sixteen planes were going to make a surprise attack on the morning of 15 April, with a second round of attacks in the afternoon. Kennedy didn't want to be seen to be attacking all of the Cuban airbases because it would appear 'too much'.

"This resulted in catastrophe for us because eight of Castro's aircraft were left intact. Six were fighters and for a B-26 bomber that was no contest and we ended up losing half our fleet. Also, in order to fly from Nicaragua (which

was from where we flew to Cuba) they had to remove the machine guns in the back so that they could have an additional fuel tank. This took away our aerial defences in order to have 45 minutes flying time over the operation area. It was not enough."

The failure to destroy Castro's air force only alerted the Cuban leader to the imminent threat. "Castro knew the invasion was coming two days beforehand with the air attack. We also had infiltration teams in Cuba who were making contact with some anti-Castro guerrillas that were fighting in the mountains. However, these teams were not advised that the invasion was coming so they were unprepared. One of the missions they had was to destroy bridges and do everything they could to delay the movement of Castro's forces to the Bay of Pigs but that never happened. Basically, [the campaign] lost two days before the invasion."

Lopez de la Cruz only learned about the Americans' strategic errors in hindsight. "We didn't know what was happening, including the airstrikes. By the time we flew from Guatemala to Nicaragua we left an empty base and all the other forces were already



Fidel Castro pictured during the invasion as he took personal command of his government's efforts to defeat Brigade 2506 and the CIA

LANDING BEACHES & DROP ZONES



Brigade 2506 landed by ship and airborne operations but were confronted by Fidel Castro's numerically superior forces

The 1,500 members of Brigade 2506 deployed into the Bay of Pigs, an inlet of the Gulf of Cazones on Cuba's southern coast. Located 150km southeast of Havana, the Bay of Pigs was also surrounded by settlements that were used as objectives by the brigade's paratroopers. Parachute drop zones included Palpite, Sopillar, Joguma, La Horquita and Johnny Lopez de la Cruz's objective of San Blas to the east. Meanwhile, the main force sailed up the inlet in five supply ships and landed on the beaches of Playa Larga and Playa Giron.

The brigade was equipped with artillery, mortars, jeeps, trucks and several M41 Walker Bulldog tanks. Nevertheless, they were vastly outnumbered by over 20,000 members of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces, who advanced on the Bay of Pigs from the north and east. Fidel Castro's forces were also aided by various aircraft, including Lockheed T-33 Shooting Star jets and even a few outdated British Hawker Sea Fury fighters.



"WE WANTED TO BRING FREEDOM"



*Cuban student members of
Castro's militia operate an anti-
aircraft gun during the invasion*

**"THE FAILURE TO DESTROY CASTRO'S
AIR FORCE ONLY ALERTED THE CUBAN
LEADER TO THE IMMINENT THREAT"**



© Alamy

CUBA ON A KNIFE EDGE

Lopez de la Cruz recalls being imprisoned in Havana while the Cuban Missile Crisis erupted around him

The Cuban Missile Crisis took the world to the brink of nuclear war when the Soviet Union installed missile sites on Cuba. Fidel Castro had closely aligned himself with the Soviets following the Bay of Pigs and requested that the missile sites be established to deter a future invasion. They were discovered by an American U-2 spy plane in October 1962 and a tense standoff ensued between President Kennedy and Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev.

Inside Castillo del Príncipe prison, Lopez de la Cruz was initially unaware of events due to being in solitary confinement: "I didn't know anything because I had no communications in the cell. When they got me out I read that something was going on." It transpired that Brigade

2506's captors had murderous plans if the crisis escalated: "The guards were going to put dynamite in the prison so if the Americans came we'd be killed. They also reinforced the area and had anti-aircraft units in preparation for an invasion."

Although Cuba had become a nuclear geopolitical hotspot, Lopez de la Cruz recalls the prisoners' defiance: "We were obviously concerned but we also thought that the crisis would perhaps end Castro's government. I remember telling the guard, 'We're watching you and know that when the Americans get here just see what will happen to you.' People were throwing things at the guards from the doors of the cells and a couple of times they would shoot inside. Several people were wounded but fortunately nobody died."

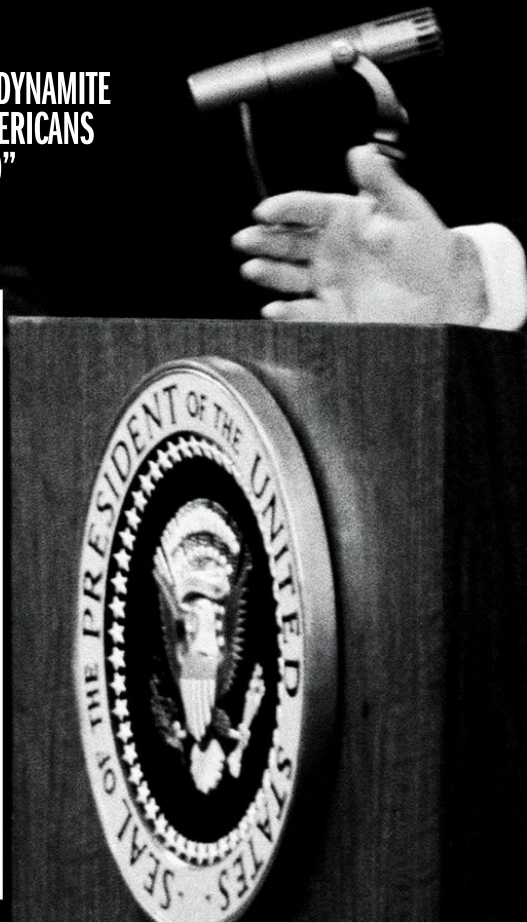
The crisis ended on 29 October 1962 with the Soviets removing the missile sites. One of the conditions was an American assurance that they would not re-invade Cuba. This greatly disappointed Brigade 2506. "The crisis was the result of Kennedy not doing what he had to at the Bay of Pigs. I think the brigade's commanders felt that Kennedy was a wimp because he could have done anything he wanted. Fortunately, the crisis didn't turn into a nuclear war but the worst thing about the missile agreement was the pledge that America would not invade Cuba. That was horrible because Kennedy was asking us to fight while he signed an agreement saying, 'I'm not going to invade Cuba again.' It was not a clear message."

**"THE GUARDS WERE GOING TO PUT DYNAMITE
IN THE PRISON SO THAT IF THE AMERICANS
CAME WE WOULD BE KILLED"**

An American aerial photograph of a ballistic missile site on Cuba, October 1962

MEDIUM RANGE BALLISTIC MISSILE BASE IN CUBA

SAN CRISTOBAL



President John F Kennedy answers questions at a press conference three days before the Bay of Pigs Invasion, 14 April 1961



Below: President Kennedy faces reporters during a televised speech to the nation about the US naval blockade of Cuba, 24 October 1962



Below: Fidel Castro's increasingly close alignment with the Soviet Union led by Nikita Khrushchev was a direct result of the Bay of Pigs Invasion





Castro's soldiers pictured with a captured boat at Playa de Giron



on their way to Cuba. We were briefed but were ignorant of the changes that had been made. We knew that anybody could die but in our minds we would win."

Invasion

Now the second-in-command of D Company, 1st Paratrooper Battalion, Lopez de la Cruz was restless for action on the morning of 17 April 1961. "We departed from Nicaragua at around 3am and flew in some C-46 [transport aircraft]. Many of us were so excited to get in the planes that we were sleeping under their wings. We were like sardines because there were too many people in each aircraft but we were excited. The morale was high and you could tell that people were really enthusiastic about going. The feeling was, 'We can finally go and fight for our country.'"

Lopez de la Cruz was one of 177 paratroopers while 1,334 other members of Brigade 2506 travelled by sea to the Bay of Pigs. The airborne battalion spearheaded the invasion. "Our mission was to stop anything on the roads that were going to the beach. We were to provide time so that the rest of the brigade could disembark. We flew over three avenues of approach to the beach and started jumping almost immediately. I jumped over a small town called San Blas and it was a matter of minutes before we secured the place. We waited for the enemy but it was only a couple of hours later that they were arriving and fighting the battle."

Castro lost no time in assembling his forces against Brigade 2506. Taking personal charge of the counterattack, he commanded over 20,000 troops of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces and Militia. The brigade immediately ran into trouble, with Castro's remaining aircraft strafing soldiers on the beach and sinking two ships. Over the next

three days the exiles struggled to keep fighting. "We were able to hold San Blas for a while. On the second day, 3rd Battalion came to help us and on the third day a brigade tank arrived. However, we didn't receive any resupplies so we fought with what we had and by the third day we had ran out of ammunition."

Lopez de la Cruz recalls an intense fighting experience where the brigade fought against overwhelming odds. "Castro's forces were using old tactics like mass attacks instead of manoeuvring. It was very easy to stop those attacks but you spent a lot of ammunition doing it. That was a problem and the fighting was almost non-stop. On the second day we were under artillery attack for hours and had to move 500 yards back while they were firing shells. We didn't get any casualties from those artillery rounds but we had to leave our established line of defence."

Although he was only 20 years old Lopez de la Cruz quickly had to assume command. "We were divided into three groups. Only half of my company was there and I was in command because my commander was wounded during the jump and had to be evacuated to the beach. With my group I was preoccupied with making sure we were not outflanked or anything like that."

By the third day of the invasion, the lack of ammunition became critical. "I knew by then that we were going to run out, and we did. I only had one carbine and my pistol. I first ran out of ammunition for my carbine and the only thing I had left was my pistol, and most of the other people were in the same way."

After being informed by his battalion commander to withdraw to the beach, Lopez de la Cruz and his men destroyed most of their weapons and rethought their plans. "There were just a few rounds left by the time

we got to the beach. We were then told there was no hope, no ammunition coming and that there was no way we could stop Castro's forces. We thought we could try and infiltrate through the enemy lines so we divided into very small groups of three to five people. My group moved northeast and we waited for a couple of days until we were surprised and captured in an open field."

"We're going to die"

With over 100 members of Brigade 2506 killed or downed and almost 1,200 captured, the Bay of Pigs Invasion was a decisive victory for Castro. On the ground, Lopez de la Cruz was captured in tense circumstances. "We knew we could die but capture never crossed my mind and I was confused and frustrated. One of the guys who captured us was really angry and wanted to know if we were paratroopers. When we said yes he said, 'You son of a bitch, you killed my brother.' He actually wanted to kill us but the rest of the group stopped him."

The prisoners were escorted back to the beach before they were placed into trucks bound for Havana. Lopez de la Cruz and approximately 100 other captives were forced into a container truck with zero ventilation. "We were really packed when they started closing the doors. A prisoner by the doors said, 'If you close them we're going to die. There's no way we can breathe here.' One of the captors said, 'We're going to close the doors. It doesn't matter because you're going to be executed anyway so we'll be saving on the bullets.'"

The prisoners now embarked on a horrific journey. "It was really bad. We were so packed in, there was no air and – in desperation – people tried to break some of the inside wall with wood. They were able to break open a couple of little holes in two different places



Captured members of Brigade 2506 pictured shortly after their defeat



Cuban militiamen celebrate the failure of the Bay of Pigs Invasion

of the container. Air started to come in but the trip took about seven hours."

Dehydration and suffocation tormented the captives, who began to die in the cramped truck. "Condensation from the ceiling fell like rain and people tried to capture it because there was no water. However, there was sweat, urine and all kinds of things on the floor. We also trod on people and we knew that they had died from asphyxiation. If I have to say what the most horrific thing I have experienced is then it has to be that one because asphyxiation is a horrible death.

"It was also dark because there was no lighting inside. There were only the little peep holes and their light was enough to show the shadows of the bodies, although you couldn't recognise their faces. It was one of the most horrific crimes I have experienced."

By the time the truck arrived in Havana, several prisoners were dead. "When they opened the doors it was like walking into a very cold, air-conditioned place. That says something because Cuba was already hot. People had dropped dead and when I got out I looked back and saw nine bodies lying on the floor of the container. The guards tried to hide it but we already knew there were nine people dead. They said they were going to take serious measures against the people responsible but they didn't do anything. It was just horrible."

"We planned an escape"

Upon arrival, the Brigade 2506 prisoners were moved around various locations before they were imprisoned in an 18th century Spanish fort called Castillo del Príncipe in central Havana. They were put on trial and sentenced to 30 years in prison with hard labour. Lopez de la Cruz recalls that the Castro regime attempted to divide the brigade by offering

ransoms to those who could afford it. "They divided us into different groups for payment. They were trying to divide the people between those with wealthy families and economic resources against those who didn't have any money. Three people were able to pay but the vast majority didn't. I remember one of my friends was offered release because his ransom had been paid but he refused to leave. Our morale was still high – even in prison."

Lopez de la Cruz decided to make his own bid for freedom. "I knew there was no hope I would be able to pay the ransom but I wouldn't do it anyway out of principle. However, I did say 'I have to get out of here' so with two other friends we planned an escape."

The escapees prepared two ropes to abseil 40 feet down from their crowded cell to a patioed area of the prison. "It was so crowded in the cell that a guard wouldn't be able to see in and so we could slip out. The two ropes were needed to get down to the ground before we crossed the moat and climb over the other side."

On the night of 13-14 June 1962, Lopez de la Cruz lowered from his cell with another comrade. "It was a difficult situation but the night came and it was raining like crazy. The guard on the other side of the moat that usually overlooked our cell left his post. My friend and I then avoided the searchlights, got to the other side, jumped another fence on the outer perimeter and finally emerged into the middle of Havana."

The pair immediately visited a member of Lopez de la Cruz's family whose presence in Havana was unknown to the authorities. "We changed clothes and got some money but we weren't going to stay there. We didn't want to put this family member into a really bad situation."

As part of the intricate escape preparations, an arrangement had been made with a contact who would help the escapees leave Cuba.

However, the contact did not appear and Lopez de la Cruz and his friend fruitlessly attempted to seek asylum in various embassies. Castro's local intelligence forces soon caught the escaped pair. "In every block they had groups that [supported] the revolution. We went to a house that belonged to a lady whose husband had been captured the week before. By the time we got there [Castro's forces] were waiting for us. We told them we were students on vacation in Havana. They asked for our wallets but we couldn't provide any ID so we were captured again."

Lopez de la Cruz and his friend were subsequently interrogated by members of Cuba's state intelligence agency (known as G2) before they were sent back to Castillo del Príncipe and placed in punishment cells. Confined in a small, dark room for three months, Lopez de la Cruz developed a serious infection and was treated in the prison infirmary before he was reunited with his fellow brigade members.

"Good job"

By the end of 1962, American sympathisers to Brigade 2506's plight successfully negotiated their freedom. This included Attorney General Robert F Kennedy, who exhorted pharmaceutical companies and even baby food manufacturers to provide financial contributions. Castro ultimately accepted \$53 million-worth of materials from America, including medicine and agricultural supplies, in exchange for the prisoners' release on 23 December 1962. However, Lopez de la Cruz did not leave until Christmas Eve. "I was considered 'dangerous' so I left in the very last plane from Cuba on 24 December, before we arrived in Miami that night."

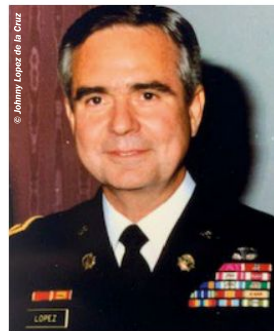
For the survivors of Brigade 2506, the feeling of freedom was bittersweet. "It was confusing. Obviously we were happy to be out of the



Johnny Lopez de la Cruz pictured meeting President Kennedy at the Miami Orange Bowl stadium, 29 December 1962



Above: President Kennedy being presented with Brigade 2506's flag by surviving soldiers at the Miami Orange Bowl stadium days after their release from prison, 29 December 1962



Right: Johnny Lopez de la Cruz is also a veteran of the Vietnam War and is the recipient, among other decorations, of the Legion of Merit and three Bronze Star medals

horrors of prison but we were also sad because we had not accomplished what we wanted to do. We all felt that even though we had lost the battle we were willing to continue the fight."

Soon after Lopez de la Cruz returned to America, he attended a ceremony with the rest of Brigade 2506 and President Kennedy at the Miami Orange Bowl stadium on 29 December 1962. The brigade's flag was handed over to the president, who declared: "I can assure you that this flag will be returned to this brigade in a free Havana."

After the speech, Lopez de la Cruz briefly met the president as he walked through the brigade's ranks. "I was in front of my unit and he came and said hello to me. At that time I had lost a lot of weight and I was really skinny. In my then very bad English I tried to explain what I had done and he said: 'Good job, good job' before he left. It was a very short conversation."

Despite Kennedy's famous charisma, Lopez de la Cruz was not impressed with his handling of the Bay of Pigs Invasion. "I was highly disappointed and many people were really angry at him. I have to understand that the president and the people around him had to make really tough decisions. As president he had the responsibility for his country. That's the case for any leader. It's also politics and he tried to help us in the way that he did. He made a mistake but my main feeling about him at the time was just disappointment."

Nevertheless, Kennedy did make a private promise to the brigade at the Orange Bowl, which Lopez de la Cruz accepted. "The message was that the fight would continue with another invasion. The Americans would retrain and continue training volunteers and 607 of us accepted that challenge. We joined the US Armed Forces on 11 March 1963 in different branches and started training. This included some Cuban units within the US Army."

Kennedy's personal pledge to re-invade Cuba fell apart when he was assassinated

on 22 November 1963. "With his death all those plans disappeared because there was an administration change. We were still thinking that we had a chance to go back to Cuba and we were still looking forward in certain ways. We were still in the fight and didn't want to stop."

"I would do it again"

Lopez de la Cruz went on to serve for 26 years in the US Army, where he served in the Vietnam War and retired as a decorated colonel. In the 60 years since the Bay of Pigs Invasion he watched Cuba being ruled unopposed by Castro as president until his retirement in 2008. Castro's younger brother Raúl continued to serve as leader of the Cuban Communist Party and de facto head of state until April 2021. Lopez de la Cruz traces all this to the failure of the invasion. "Because Brigade 2506 was defeated, that had a lot of consequences for the United States and the world. Castro felt that by defeating us he had consolidated his regime and from then he began interfering in different countries."

Now the president of the Bay of Pigs Veterans Association, Lopez de la Cruz is highly critical of how Castro governed Cuba. "What we do with the association is try to convince every US administration that Cuba is dangerous, a communist satellite and oppressing its people. Castro ruined its economy, destroyed families and executed so many people in their thousands. He destroyed a country."

Since his release in 1962, Lopez de la Cruz has never returned to his home country.

**"WE ALL FELT THAT EVEN
THOUGH WE HAD LOST THE
BATTLE WE WERE WILLING TO
CONTINUE THE FIGHT"**

However, if given the chance he would still decline. "The way Cuba is now is the reason why I left. There would have to be a regime change but until that time I would never think of going back."

Nevertheless, despite the passage of 60 years and a lifelong exile, Lopez de la Cruz is proud of what Brigade 2506 tried to achieve. "I and everybody else in the brigade feel that we did what we had to. That was our vocation, our mission. I would take any opportunity to win democracy and freedom in Cuba and so would every other member of the brigade. That was the reason why we fought and it will always be the reason why we still fight. I would do it again – no matter what."



BAY OF PIGS
BRIGADE 2506 MUSEUM

Johnny Lopez de la Cruz is the president of the Bay of Pigs Veterans Association. The association's mission is to assist Brigade 2506 veterans and to defend the values of democracy, human rights, justice and individual liberties. The association also runs the Brigade 2506 Museum in Miami, Florida.

For more information visit:
www.bayofpigsbrigade2506.com





1:35

ON TRACK FOR 2021

CROMWELL MK.IV

A1373 CROMWELL MK.IV

The A27M Cromwell Mk.IV was the most heavily produced version of the new Cruiser Tank Mk.VIII and matched the Centaur hull with the highly effective Rolls Royce Meteor engine (A27Meteor), which allowed the tank to travel at impressively high speeds. The tank also featured a quick firing 75mm gun, which was a re-bored version of the British 6 pounder gun and allowed the commander to have the option of using American produced armour piercing or high explosive rounds.



CROMWELL MK.IV
1st Royal Tank Regiment, 7th Armoured Division, British Army, Europe, 1944/45.



CROMWELL MK.IV
Northamptonshire Yeomanry, 11th Armoured Division, British Army, Europe, 1944/45.

A1374 CROMWELL MK.VI

Approximately 340 of these specialist tanks were eventually produced, which would prove to be extremely effective as Allied ground units pushed German forces back towards their homeland. Despite their impressive speed, the Cromwells were no match for the firepower of the German heavy tanks and would have to rely on speed and stealth for their battlefield survival.



CROMWELL MK.VI
2nd Tank Battalion, 1st Czechoslovak Independent Brigade Group, British Army, Europe, 1944/45.



CROMWELL MK.VI
2nd Squadron, 10th Mounted Rifle Regiment, 1st Polish Armoured Division, British Army, Europe, 1944/45.

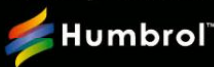


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WILLIAM HARVEY CARNEY

When the colour guard of the 54th Regiment was killed, this sergeant, although wounded, seized the national flag and marched it forward during the storming of Fort Wagner in Charleston, South Carolina, 18 July, 1863

WORDS: MURRAY DAHM

On 22 September, 1862, already almost two years into the US Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation stating that, as of 1 January, 1863, all slaves within any State would be “thenceforward, and forever free”. This proclamation freed 3.5 million men and women of African-American descent and included in the proclamation was the sentence that “the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom”. This meant that African-Americans could serve in the armed forces of the Union.

The first unit which took advantage of the new-won ability of African-American men to serve in Union armies was the 1st Kansas Colored Infantry Regiment, which mustered less than two weeks after the Emancipation Proclamation came into effect, on 13 January. This unit was formed without the authority (and against the wishes) of the Secretary of War Edwin M Stanton. The second unit to form was sanctioned, the 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment, which began recruiting on 26 January. Stanton had instructed the Governor of Massachusetts,

John A Andrew, to begin raising the regiment; it would be commanded and led by white officers. The commander would be Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, only son of a prominent Boston abolitionist family, who was personally selected by Governor Andrew.

Immense efforts were undertaken to ensure that enough men would come forward to serve, but it soon became clear that many more men than were required were intending to sign up. A medical exam was therefore instituted and the men of the 54th were described as “strong, robust and healthy”, more so than any other unit in the Union army. Among the men who were recruited and who passed the physical was William Harvey Carney of New Bedford, Massachusetts.

Carney was born a slave in Norfolk, Virginia, in late February 1840. According to several biographies, he escaped to freedom via the Underground Railway and joined his father in Massachusetts, who had escaped some time earlier. It is possible the two then purchased the freedom of the rest of their family. It is also possible that the young William had his freedom purchased by his father. In February 1863, just before his 23rd birthday, Carney joined the 54th.

In answer to the growing realisation that the Emancipation Proclamation would mean units of African-American troops coming against the Confederacy, its president, Jefferson

Davis, issued a proclamation of his own on 23 December, 1862. This stated that all African-American soldiers and the officers commanding them should be considered criminals assisting in servile insurrection and were thereby condemned to death. This proclamation did nothing to slow the numbers of men coming forward to serve in the new units, however.

The 54th trained at Camp Meigs in Readville, near Boston. It mustered into service on 13 May, 1863, leaving Boston on 28 May. It would not have to wait long before it saw its first action. The 54th marched to Beaufort, South Carolina, where they were joined by another African-American unit, the 2nd South Carolina Volunteer Infantry Regiment. The 2nd had already mounted successful raids in early June. The first battle for the 54th came on 16 July, 1863, at Grimball's Landing on James Island as part of the Operations Against the Defenses of Charlestown. The action at Grimball's Landing was intended to draw troops away from Fort Wagner, which Brigadier General Quincy A Gilmore had failed to take on the 11th. Fort Wagner was the real objective of the campaign. At Grimball's landing, the 54th prevented an encircling movement by Confederate forces and allowed the withdrawal of the 10th Connecticut Infantry Regiment, who the Confederates sought to encircle and cut off.

The 54th was blooded, suffering 43 casualties. The regiment was selected to lead

William Harvey Carney
c.1901, after his Medal
of Honor was awarded by
fellow Civil War veteran
President McKinley

**“WHEN THE COLOR SERGEANT
WAS SHOT DOWN, THIS
SOLDIER GRASPED THE
FLAG, LED THE WAY TO THE
PARAPET, AND PLANTED
THE COLORS THEREON.
WHEN THE TROOPS FELL
BACK HE BROUGHT OFF THE
FLAG, UNDER A FIERCE FIRE
IN WHICH HE WAS TWICE
SEVERELY WOUNDED”**

Medal of Honor citation

the charge against Fort Wagner in Charleston, South Carolina on 18 July, 1863, at the Second Battle of Fort Wagner. Some accounts have Colonel Shaw request to lead the charge with the 54th. The first unsuccessful assault on the fort (the first battle) had taken place a week earlier. Fort Wagner protected the strategically important Morris Island, which protected the southern approaches to Charleston Harbor.

The fort was located on a narrow island, which allowed assault by only one regiment at a time. Approach to the fort consisted of a strip of beach only 55 metres wide; on the east was the sea with marsh on the west. As this strip opened out, it faced the more than 200 metre-wide parapet of the fort, which consisted of a moat with sharpened stakes and abatis. The fort was strongly protected with artillery pieces consisting of mortars, howitzers, carronades, other pieces and a strong infantry garrison of 1,800 men. Gilmore had underestimated the strength of the garrison, which could bring many men and their guns against the thin fronts of his assaulting regiments. Gilmore had his own land and sea artillery (the latter supplied by six Monitor gunships); with these he began an eight-hour bombardment of the fort. It was ineffective, inflicting only 28 casualties.

At dusk the 54th advanced to lead the assault on the fort, led by Colonel Shaw and cheered by the remaining nine regiments of Gilmore's command. Some 5,000 men in total would come on in three brigades, all led

**"BOYS, I ONLY DID MY DUTY;
THE OLD FLAG NEVER TOUCHED
THE GROUND!"**

William H Carney, July 18, 1863

by the 54th. The 54th would lead the attack towards the west end of the fort while it was intended that the remainder of the first brigade would attack the seaward salient. The assault was launched at 7.45pm, 45 minutes before sunset.

The 54th advanced to within 137 metres of the fort before the Confederates opened fire with a devastating hail of musket and cannon-fire. This concentrated fire tore through the ranks, killing and wounding many. The colour guard was killed to a man and Carney, of C Company and already wounded, took up the national flag of the regiment and continued to advance towards the parapet. One version recounts that as he saw the flag falling, Carney threw away his own gun and took up the flag instead. The tide was coming in and, adding to their perils, the moat was now filled with three feet of water. Some enemy stood on the parapet and fired down into the water-filled moat at the men of the 54th. Carney advanced

with the colour and reached the parapet of the fort, kneeling on it and planting the flag in one account, and the regiment followed him. There, having not fired a single shot in their advance, the men of the 54th engaged in hand-to-hand combat with the 51st North Carolina Infantry. Musket butts and bayonets were brought into play on the parapet top.

The Union troops were hugely outnumbered, however, and soon forced back. Many of the officers of the 54th were wounded; Colonel Shaw had reached the parapet of the fort but had been shot and killed there, pierced by seven wounds according to Confederate reports. Until that moment he had encouraged the regiment on with cries of "Forward, Fifty-fourth!" Lieutenant Colonel Hallowell was severely wounded in the groin; Captain Willard and the next eight in seniority, three lieutenants and the adjutant had also been wounded. Another of the wounded was Lewis Henry Douglas, son of Frederick Douglass, the famous orator who led the calls for recruitment in Massachusetts only a few months before. In all, the 54th suffered almost 30% casualties: 30 were killed in action, 24 died of wounds, 15 were captured and 52 were reported missing. It is possible that they were victims of Davis' proclamation and not accorded the treatment due to enemy combatants. Only 315 men survived. Other accounts state that 272 men of the 54th were killed, wounded or missing out of 600 – almost 50% casualties.

A portrait of Carney taken in 1864 with his regiment's national flag. His bravery would not be officially honoured for almost 40 years



This 1890 lithograph of the battle of Fort Wagner shows Gould's death and a sergeant (presumably Carney) with the flag on the parapet beside him



A 2004 painting of Sergeant Carney's action, *The Old Flag Never Touched the Ground*, showing him and men of the 54th on the parapet of Fort Wagner



As the men of the 54th retired, Carney realised that he too would need to retreat. He made his way back towards the Union lines, covered by a single rifleman from the 100th New York Infantry Regiment. During his withdrawal, Carney was wounded twice more, making his way back crawling on one knee. One of those bullets could not be extracted and remained until his dying day. Throughout his advance and retreat he held the colour aloft. Once he was back in Union lines, he refused to relinquish the national flag except to an officer of his own regiment – the man he gave it to was 19-year-old Captain Luis F Emilio (who would later write the history of the regiment). As he moved through Union lines, he was cheered by the men and he uttered his famous statement: “Boys, I only did my duty; the old flag never touched the ground.” According to Emilio, the State colour had been ripped from its pole and lay in the water of the moat (later found by the enemy), only the staff was taken back to the regiment.

By 10pm the Union assault had failed with heavy losses, losing 1,500 men; 800 were buried the following day. The fort remained in Confederate hands and they had only suffered 174 casualties. The actions of the 54th at Fort Wagner proved to both sides, however, the value and courage of African-American troops. Stories of Carney's bravery were key to that reputation. Numbers of African-American enlistments grew as more and more men sought to serve; 180,000 African-American soldiers served in the footsteps of Carney and

the 54th. At Fort Wagner, a continuous 60-day bombardment was begun which unearthed the recently dead and buried, making the conditions pestilential. The fort was abandoned on 7 September.

Carney would not be presented with his Medal of Honor for 37 years, receiving it only in May, 1900, presented to him by President McKinley, a fellow Civil War veteran and the last veteran to serve as President. In the intervening period another 20 men of African-American descent had been awarded the Medal of Honor, the earliest being Robert Blake, receiving his medal in April 1864 for actions on the gunboat the USS *Marblehead* on Christmas Day 1863. Carney's action, however, predated Blake's by five months and Carney's action was the first by an African-American soldier to be awarded the Medal of Honor. Some accounts of Carney's career claim he was promoted to sergeant after his action, others claim he was a sergeant at the time of the battle and depictions show him as such. He posed for a photo in 1864 with the flag he had carried, and in it, he wears a sergeant's stripes (he also carries a cane showing he was still recovering from his wounds). Carney helped Emilio research his *History of the Fifty-fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 1863–1865*, published in 1891. In the preface, Emilio thanks Carney, among others, for their recollections which went into it. There, as he carried the flag forward, Carney is called sergeant, which might decide the matter. Carney's serious wounds meant he was

honourably discharged from the army in late June 1864. Thereafter he became a mailman in New Bedford, Massachusetts, for 32 years. He died after an elevator accident in 1908.

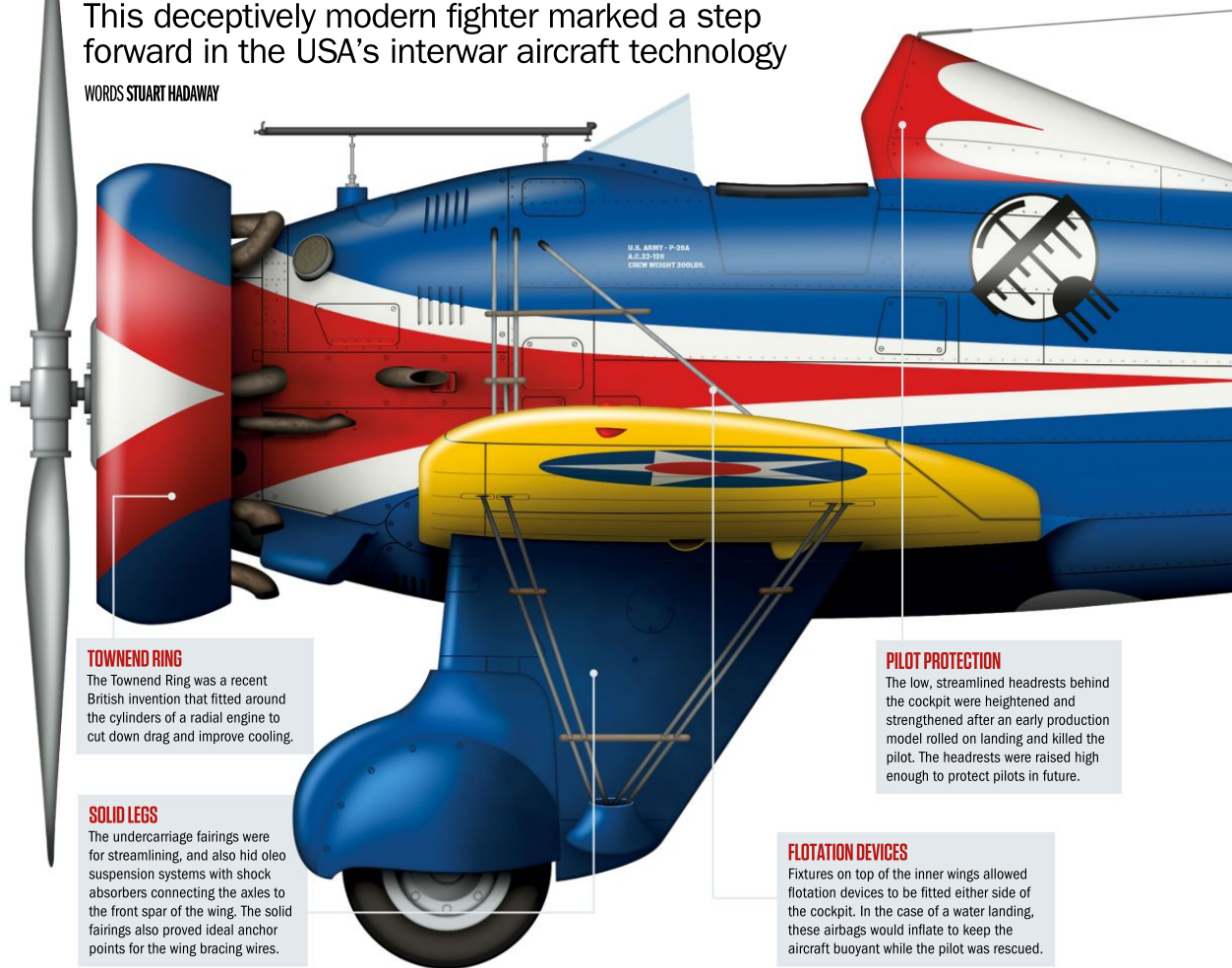
Carney's bravery and medal were celebrated but not consistently; C Company (mainly recruited around New Bedford) instituted a Carney Guards (a Shaw Guards was also instituted). Depictions of the battle made before 1900, which memorialise Colonel Shaw, do not pay the same respect to Carney's action. After the medal was awarded, Carney's statement was memorialised in a song *Boys the Old Flag Never Touched the Ground*, published in 1901 and dedicated to Carney. In its lyrics, the song told the entire story of Carney's bravery.

Several novels and works of non-fiction have also told the story such as *One Gallant Rush* (1965) by Peter Burchard (and based on the letters of Robert Gould Shaw). The story of the 54th and the Second Battle of Fort Wagner was the subject of the 1989 Academy Award winning film, *Glory*, starring Mathew Broderick as Colonel Shaw. Despite the subject, the film does not include Carney and his actions are given to a fictitious Private Trip, played by Denzel Washington (and for which he won the Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor). In the film, it is Trip who lifts the flag and carries it forward. The film also has colour sergeants in the fort, although in the actual battle they had been killed early in the assault and it was from them Carney took up the flag. Carney's story deserved (and deserves) better.

BOEING P-26A PEASHOOTER

This deceptively modern fighter marked a step forward in the USA's interwar aircraft technology

WORDS STUART HADAWAY



TOWNEND RING

The Townend Ring was a recent British invention that fitted around the cylinders of a radial engine to cut down drag and improve cooling.

SOLID LEGS

The undercarriage fairings were for streamlining, and also hid oleo suspension systems with shock absorbers connecting the axles to the front spar of the wing. The solid fairings also proved ideal anchor points for the wing bracing wires.

PILOT PROTECTION

The low, streamlined headrests behind the cockpit were heightened and strengthened after an early production model rolled on landing and killed the pilot. The headrests were raised high enough to protect pilots in future.

FLOTATION DEVICES

Fixtures on top of the inner wings allowed flotation devices to be fitted either side of the cockpit. In the case of a water landing, these airbags would inflate to keep the aircraft buoyant while the pilot was rescued.

"THE P-26A WOULD BE A
MAINSTAY OF THE US FIGHTER
FORCE UNTIL SHORTLY BEFORE
THEY ENTERED WORLD WAR II"

Above, top: The P-26A
Peashooter was the
USAAC's first monoplane
fighter, and the first to be
fully metal skinned

With its external bracing wires and fixed undercarriage, the Boeing P-26A looks antiquated compared to later 1930s aircraft, but looks can be deceptive. The P-26A came at a turning point in aircraft design, when lighter and stronger monocoque fuselages were still wedded to weight-saving devices like fixed undercarriages. It would be the US Army Air Corps' (USAAC) first monoplane fighter, and the first to be fully metal skinned. It was also their last to have an open cockpit or external bracing wires. Entering squadron service in 1934, the type would face many teething problems

that naturally accompany a new design. Landing speeds were a particular problem. Pilots used to biplanes had trouble adapting to the higher landing speeds of the monoplane and mid-production changes were made, with large landing flaps bringing the approach speed down by 16km/h (10mph), reducing the number of accidents.

It would be a mainstay of the US fighter force until shortly before they entered World War II. Although the aircraft did not see any action with the USAAC, the Peashooter did fly operationally with several other air forces even into the 1940s, by which time it was heavily outclassed by more modern aircraft.

BOEING P-26A PEASHOOTER

COMMISSIONED:	1931
ORIGIN:	USA
LENGTH:	7.19M (23FT 10IN)
RANGE:	198 KM (123 MI)
WINGSPAN:	8.5M (27FT 11.5IN)
ENGINE:	PRATT & WHITNEY R-1340-27 450KW
CREW:	1
PRIMARY WEAPON:	2 X 7.62MM (.303IN) BROWNING M2 MACHINE GUNS
SECONDARY WEAPON:	UP TO 90KG (200LB) OF BOMBS

"THE FUSELAGE, TAIL, AND WINGS WERE METAL FRAMED AND COVERED IN DURALUMIN SKIN USING THE LATEST TECHNIQUES"

A formation of P-26A aircraft of the 20th Pursuit Group USAAC over Louisiana



ARMAMENT

The Peashooter was designed to carry two machine guns in the lower nose section, just forward of the pilot's feet. Intended to carry two Browning M2 7.62mm (.303in) machine guns with 500 rounds each as standard, the compartment on the starboard side was designed to allow the 7.62mm gun to be swapped for a Browning M-1921 12.7mm (.50in) machine gun with 200 rounds instead. Racks under the fuselage and the wing stubs could carry two 45kg (100lb) or five 13.6kg (30lb) bombs.



Right: The butts of the Browning machine guns came back into the cockpit, and access to the magazines was through the cockpit floor

DESIGN

The Peashooter was a curious mixture of old and new. The fuselage, tail and wings were metal framed and covered in Duralumin skin using the latest techniques. However, to keep the weight down the plane used external wire bracing rather than heavier internal or external struts (the latter of which would also create drag). The fixed undercarriage did add drag, but this was deemed an acceptable price to pay to have them act as bracing points for the wires, and they were much lighter than retractable gears.

This Peashooter under restoration shows the modern metal framework underneath

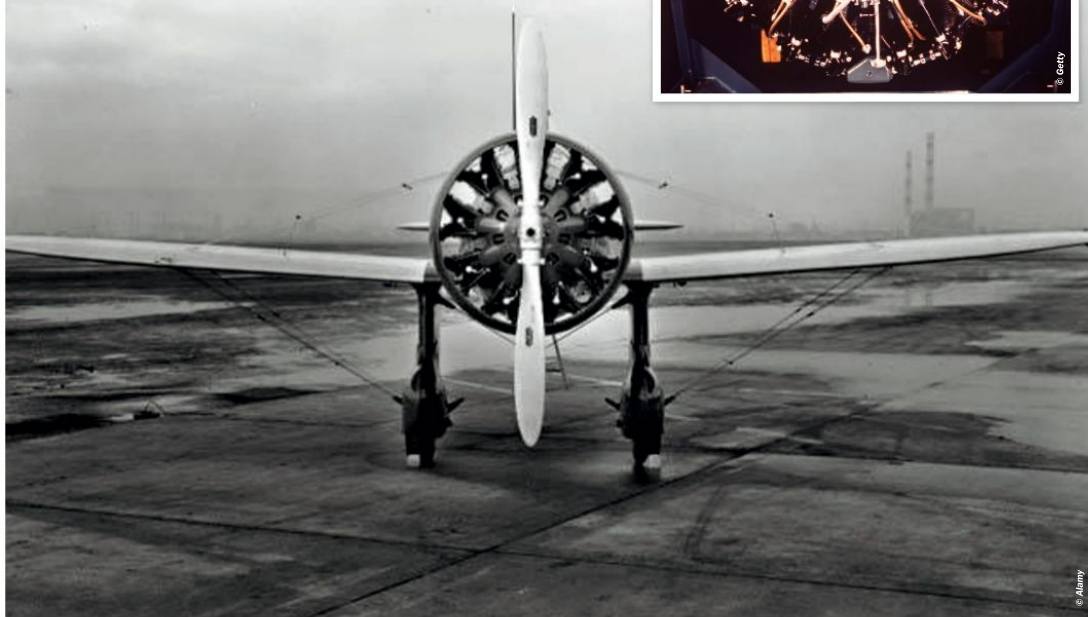
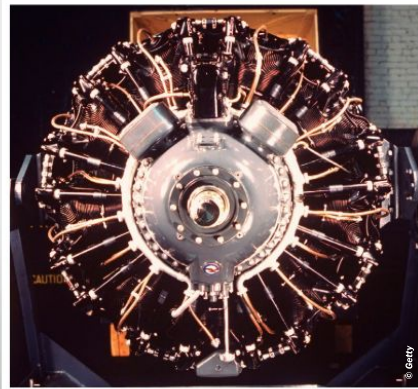


ENGINE

The R-1340-27 was a nine cylinder air-cooled radial engine. The first aero engine built by Pratt and Whitney, it became the first of their highly successful Wasp series. Simple and reliable, it drove a two-bladed Hamilton standard adjustable pitch propeller. Later production P-26B models were fitted with the improved R-1340-33, which included a fuel injection system, and the P-26A and P-26C were later refitted with these engines too.

The large diameter radial engine gave the Peashooter a distinctive fat, stub-nosed look

The R-1340 was the first of the highly success Wasp range of radial engines, used widely over the next three decades





The cramped and basic cockpit of the Peashooter

Source: USAF Museum

COCKPIT

The open cockpit of the P-26A was very cramped, and the pilot would be uncomfortably jolted from side to side as the aircraft taxied on the ground. Forward view was limited by the engine, and the instruments were fairly basic. The throttle was on the left-hand wall of the cockpit. The gun butts came back into the cockpit, and access to the magazines was through the cockpit floor.

The P-26A had an open cockpit, making it less than comfortable for the pilot at high altitudes



© Alamy

SERVICE HISTORY

The USAAC received its first P-26A in December 1933, and it entered service the following year. P-26B and P-26C models followed, with an improved fuel-injected engine. A total of 136 of all models were flown by the USAAC in fighter units in the US, in the Philippines, and in Panama. From 1936 they began to be replaced, and the aircraft in Panama and the Philippines were sold to their respective native air forces. The last P-26s left front line US service in 1941.

The aircraft in the Philippines Army Air Corps saw service against the Japanese at the end of 1941 and in early 1942, as did 11 export versions of the P-26 (designated the Model 281) that were sold to the Chinese between 1934 and 1936. A further, single Model 281 was to sold Spain, where it flew with Republican forces until being shot down in October 1936.



The P-26 was Boeing's last fighter design until their involvement in the F-15 Strike Eagle in the 1980s. Instead, the company focused on bombers

"THE AIRCRAFT IN THE PHILIPPINES ARMY AIR CORPS SAW SERVICE AGAINST THE JAPANESE AT THE END OF 1941 AND IN EARLY 1942"

Although lacking the sleek lines of World War II monoplane fighters, the P-26A was surprisingly modern in its construction



DODGE THE BOMBS AND DISCOVER THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN'S DARKEST HOUR

Step back to the summer of 1940 and immerse yourself in the brutal struggle waged between Nazi Germany's Luftwaffe and the people of Britain, a battle that helped to shape the outcome of World War II



FUTURE

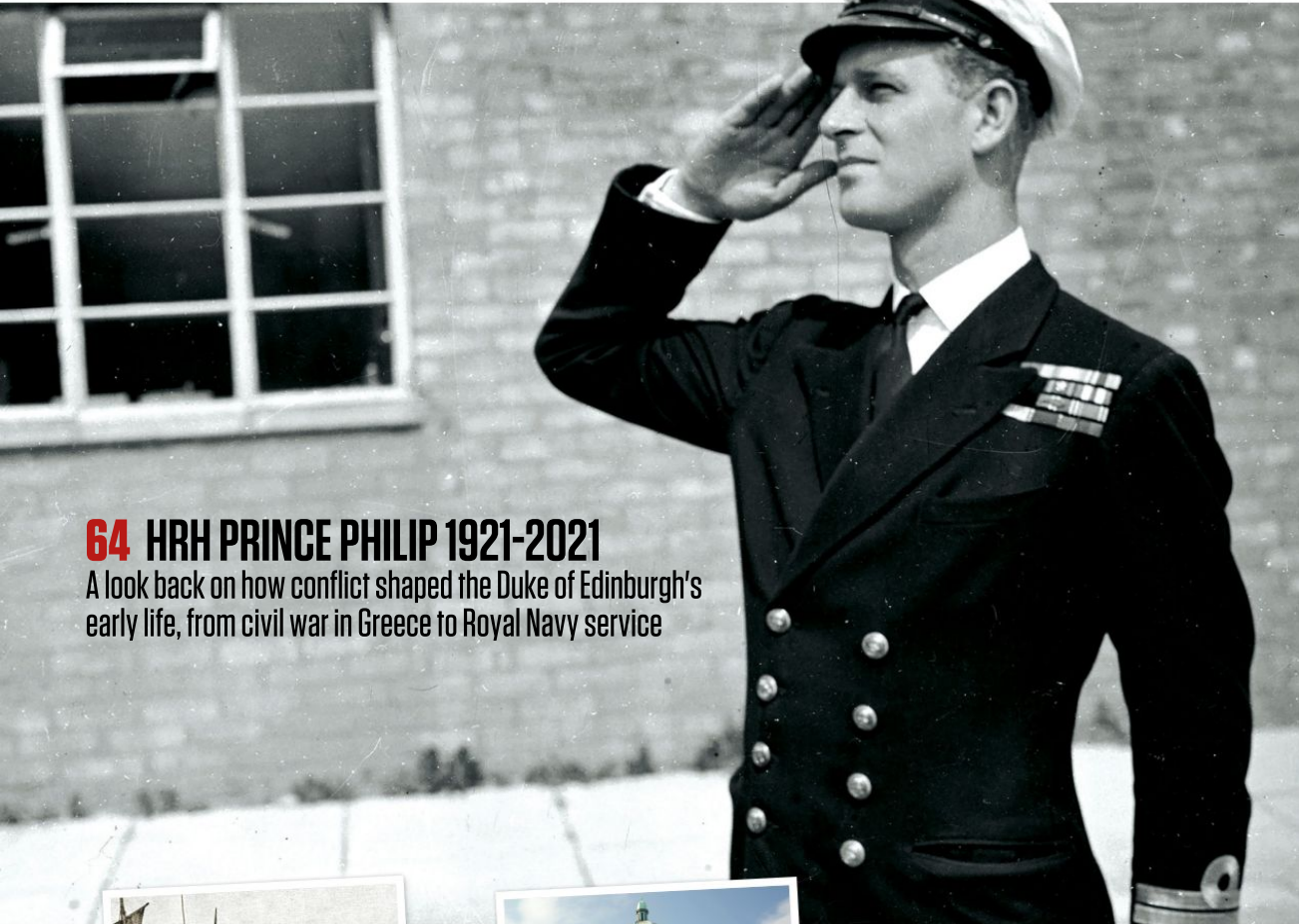


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HOME FRONT



64 HRH PRINCE PHILIP 1921-2021

A look back on how conflict shaped the Duke of Edinburgh's early life, from civil war in Greece to Royal Navy service



68

Q&A: Searching for Britain's 'Great' battlefield



72

Museums' plans to swing back into action



74

The latest film and book reviews

PRINCE PHILIP 1921-2021

PRIDE OF THE ROYAL NAVY

Commemorating and paying tribute to the late Duke of Edinburgh, History of War reflects on how conflict shaped the course of his life, beginning with exile from his native kingdom and subsequent resolute service during WWII

WORDS TOM GARNER

Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, represented the British monarchy for almost 70 years and was the longest-serving consort of a reigning British monarch. However, his early life was formed by war, neglect, tragedy and dogged endurance.

Born on 10 June, 1921, on the Greek island of Corfu at Mons Repos, Philip was the only son of Prince Andrew of Greece and Denmark and Princess Alice of Battenberg who already had four daughters: Cecilie, Sophie, Margarita and Theodora. He was born during a turbulent time for Greece and his stay in the country of his birth would not last long.

Philip's father Andrew was absent at his birth as he was away fighting in the Greek Army during the Greco-Turkish War (1919-22). Andrew was the commander of the Greek Second Army Corps during this conflict but he proved to be an ineffectual general. At the pivotal Battle of Sakarya on 19 September 1921, he refused to obey the orders of his superior officer and tried to work to his own battle plan. Unfortunately this lack of coordination and communication contributed to a battlefield stalemate. Andrew was relieved of his command and a year later he was arrested as part of the 11 September 1922 Revolution. This was a revolt of the Greek armed forces against the government who they held responsible for the Turkish victory. The Greek monarchy was overthrown and King Constantine abdicated.

As the brother of Constantine and a disgraced army commander, Andrew was in deep trouble. He was accused of treason and initially sentenced to death. General Pangalos, the Greek Minister of War, asked him, "How many children have you?" When Andrew replied Pangalos reportedly said, "Poor things, what a pity they will soon be orphans."

When Princess Alice heard of Andrew's plight she travelled to Athens to plead for his life but she was not permitted to see her husband, so she turned to her British relatives for help. King George V urged for a British intervention to evacuate the family. A Greek court banished Andrew from Greece for life and he was released in December 1922. He was lucky: six other senior members of the government were tried and executed. Soon afterwards a Royal Navy gunboat, HMS Calypso, evacuated the

family from Corfu. Prince Philip, who was still a baby, was reputedly carried out to the ship in a makeshift cot made out of an orange box. For the infant child it was the start of decades of stateless wandering.

The British side of Philip's family eventually took a large part of responsibility for his care. His maternal grandmother, Princess Victoria, sent him to live with his uncle George, Marquis of Milford Haven. He was Philip's guardian for the next seven years and became a surrogate father to him. Philip would become close friends with George's son David, who later became his best man at his wedding to Princess Elizabeth. The two boys attended Cheam School, where

"IT HAD BEEN MARVELLOUSLY QUICK THINKING. PRINCE PHILIP SAVED OUR LIVES THAT NIGHT"

Philip excelled at sport. The Marquis would often come to watch him and his son play in school matches. The Milford Havens gave Philip a sense of stability that was lacking elsewhere but he remembered the upheaval as confusing. When he was later asked what language was spoken at home he replied, "What do you mean, at home?"

It was his British relatives who, in 1938, helped bring new purpose to Philip's life in more ways than one. Under the advice of his father and Lord Mountbatten, Philip joined the Royal Navy and enrolled at the Britannia Royal Naval College at Dartmouth. He excelled at naval training and almost passed with top marks. His contemporary Terence Lewin, who later became First Sea Lord, said, "Prince Philip was a highly talented seaman. No doubt about it. If he hadn't become what he did, he would have been First Sea Lord and not me." This was an intense time to join the navy as Britain was on the brink of war with Germany but Philip's time at Dartmouth coincided with the first meeting of his future wife. In July 1939 he was put in



Philip's marriage to Princess Elizabeth in November 1947 gave him a domestic stability that he had never known



Philip served in World War II as an officer in the Royal Navy and was praised for his conduct in several battles

Prince Philip aged five in September 1926. At this time Philip's family were living in Saint-Cloud near Paris



charge of entertaining his distant cousins, 13-year old Princess Elizabeth and her younger sister Margaret when they visited the college. They had met briefly in 1934 and in 1937 at George VI's coronation but on this occasion Elizabeth fell for Philip. Over the next few years they would write letters to each other but for the moment there were other priorities. There was a war to be fought.

Philip's war service began when he was posted to HMS Ramillies in Ceylon in January 1940. In the early days of the war he was posted far from action as Greece was not at war and as a Greek prince the British did not want him to be killed on a Royal Navy ship. However, this immediately changed when Italy invaded Greece and Philip became an active participant on the Allied side. At the Battle of Cape Matapan off the Greek coast in March 1941 Philip served as a midshipman on HMS Valiant, where he was in charge of operating the ship's searchlight to pick out Italian ships during the night. He recalled, "I reported that I had a target in sight and was ordered to 'open shutter'. The beam lit up a stationary cruiser and at this point all hell broke loose, as all our eight 15-inch guns, plus those of the flagship, plus HMS Barham, started firing at the stationary cruiser, which disappeared in an explosion and a cloud of smoke. I was then ordered to 'train left' and lit up another Italian cruiser, which was given the same treatment." The ships identified by Philip were two of five Italian warships that were sunk by the British

with the loss of 2,300 sailors. It was Italy's greatest naval defeat and Philip was Mentioned in Despatches for his courage and awarded the Greek Cross of Valour.

The next year, at the age of 21, Philip was promoted to become one of the youngest first lieutenants in the navy and in July 1943 he was once again in action, this time aboard HMS Wallace taking part in the Allied invasion of Sicily. During a night attack Wallace came under bombardment from a German plane. One yeoman sailor aboard the ship, Harry Hargreaves, recalled in a 2003 interview: "It was obvious that we were a target and they would not stop until we had suffered a fatal hit. It was like being blindfolded and trying to evade an enemy whose only problem was getting his aim right. There was no doubt in anyone's mind that a direct hit was inevitable."

During a lull in the attack Philip acted quickly: "The first lieutenant (Philip) went into hurried conversation with the captain, and the next thing a wooden raft was being put together on deck." This raft was attached with smoke floats that created the illusion of debris ablaze on

the water. The German plane was fooled into attacking the raft and the ship slipped away under the cover of darkness. Hargreaves praised Philip's initiative: "It had been marvellously quick thinking. Prince Philip saved our lives that night. I suppose there would have been a few survivors, but certainly the ship would have been sunk. He was always very courageous and resourceful." Philip himself later talked about his plan in a BBC interview, describing it as "a frightfully good wheeze... we got away with it". Despite his nonchalance even he conceded "it was a very unpleasant sensation".

Philip ended his war aboard HMS Whelp, which was one of the ships that took part in the formal surrender of Japanese forces on 2 September, 1945. He recalled: "Being in Tokyo Bay with the surrender ceremony taking place in the battle ship, which was what, 200 yards away and you could see what was going on with a pair of binoculars, it was a great relief." After the surrender his ship took on former prisoners of war and he was shocked by their appearance. "These people were naval people. They were emaciated... tears pouring down their cheeks, they just drank their tea, they couldn't really speak. It was a most extraordinary sensation."

Philip had witnessed the end of the war and now that it was over he expected to continue in his naval career, but fate had determined a different future for him. He had kept in touch with Elizabeth throughout the war and she kept a photograph of him on her dressing table. Once he was on leave, Philip would drive in his

**"HE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE
IN HIS NAVAL CAREER BUT FATE
HAD DETERMINED A DIFFERENT
FUTURE FOR HIM"**



Prince Philip talks to Chelsea Pensioners at the opening of the Royal British Legion's Field of Remembrance at Westminster Abbey on November 8, 2012

black MG car to visit her. In 1946 he proposed and they became secretly engaged.

Elizabeth's father George VI initially objected to the match, despite liking Philip. The prince had an excellent war record but he wasn't British and didn't belong to the Church of England. He didn't even have a surname and 'foreign' marriages were viewed with caution, particularly in the wake of the 1936 Abdication Crisis. Philip formally asked George for permission to marry Elizabeth and the king agreed on the proviso that he wait for an official engagement until Elizabeth turned 21 in April 1947.

Philip's destiny was confirmed in November 1947 when he married Elizabeth in Westminster Abbey. George VI gave him the titles of Duke of Edinburgh, Earl of Merioneth and Baron Greenwich as well the style 'His Royal Highness'. A large part of Philip's success before his marriage into the British Royal Family was due to his naval service. In some respects it had acted as a surrogate family with comrades taking the place of relatives. Instead of being a powerless victim of his dysfunctional family's circumstances the navy had enabled him to demonstrate his own personal courage and earn respect from others on his own terms. For the rest of his life, Philip's determination to be his own man always shone through, despite his personal devotion to the Queen. It is perhaps not speculative to suggest that the Royal Navy helped to foster this famously independent confidence.

THE GRECO-TURKISH WAR (1919-22)

Prince Philip's early life was largely influenced by a disastrous conflict between Greece and Turkey in the aftermath of World War I

When the Ottoman Empire collapsed at the end of WWI, Greece moved troops into western Turkey to protect the large Greek population and to assert its historical claim over the region. The Greeks and Turks had long been traditional enemies and the Greek invasion was largely informed by a nationalist dream to create a 'Greater Greece' based on the Byzantine Empire, with Constantinople (now Istanbul) as its seat of government.

On 15 May 1919 Greek troops landed at Smyrna and occupied the city under the cover of the Allied navies. They already occupied Eastern Thrace and went on to create a Greek zone of occupation that covered most of western Asia Minor. At this stage King Constantine took personal command of the army. The western Allies formally partitioned Turkey at the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres, giving Greece Smyrna and Eastern Thrace as a reward for their contribution in World War I. The local Greek Christian population welcomed the invaders as liberators but the Muslim Turks saw them as occupiers. The Turkish revolutionary leader Mustafa Kemal rejected Sèvres and launched a national war against the Greeks.

Kemal halted the Greek advance at the First and Second Battles of Inonu in early 1921 and the tide began to turn. The British refused to militarily assist the Greeks but the Turks received substantial help from the Soviet Union. The advancing Greeks met fierce resistance at the Battle of Sakarya, which was fought over 21 days between August-September 1921. Both sides became exhausted and contemplated withdrawal but the Greeks withdrew first. This near-stalemate definitively turned the course of the war and the Greeks advanced no further as they were hampered by a poor economy and lack of strategic and operational planning.

An armistice was signed after a decisive Turkish victory at Dumlupinar in August 1922 and the Greeks left Turkey. The resulting Treaty of Lausanne saw an exchange of populations between the two countries. 500,000 Turks left Greece but almost all of the 1.5 million Greeks living in Turkish Anatolia and Thrace were expelled. Greece had huge problems trying to cater for the refugees in a ruined economy and became internationally isolated and internally divided. The monarchy, which was largely blamed for the defeat, was abolished and the war became known as the Asia Minor Catastrophe.



Above: A Greek interpreter talks to Turkish prisoners. The Turks would eventually expel the Greek population from Turkey after the war

Below: The Greek 9th Division marching through central Anatolia in August 1921. The Greeks were initially successful in the war but were hindered by poor leadership and planning, and a lack of international support



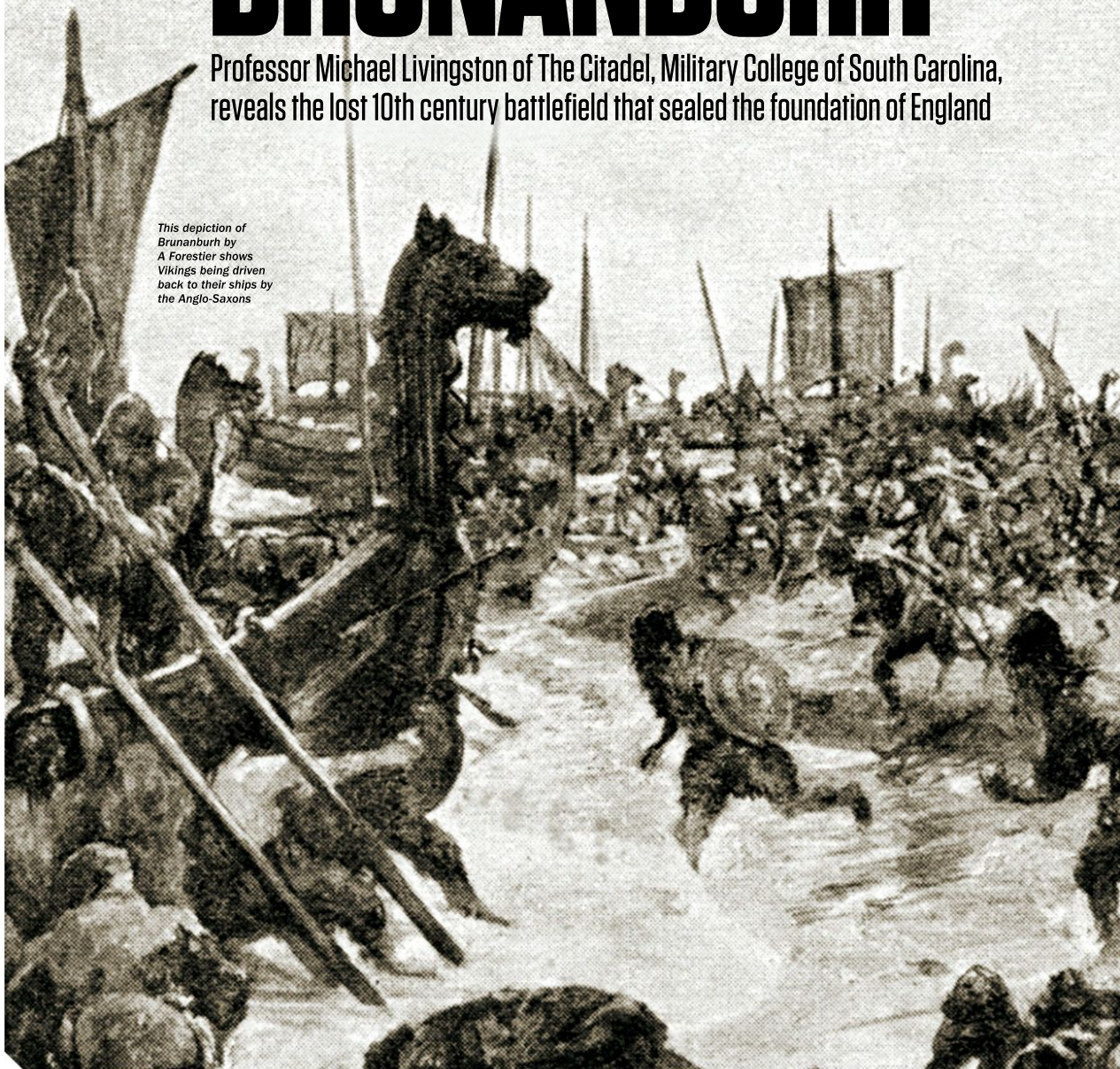


Michael Livingston is a two-time winner of the Distinguished Book Prize from the International Society for Military History

SEARCHING FOR BRUNANBURH

Professor Michael Livingston of The Citadel, Military College of South Carolina, reveals the lost 10th century battlefield that sealed the foundation of England

This depiction of Brunanburh by A Forester shows Vikings being driven back to their ships by the Anglo-Saxons



In 937, four armies met at a place called Brunanburh. Three of them were an alliance led by Anlaf Guthfrithson, Viking King of Dublin; Constantine II, King of Alba (Scotland); and Owain, King of Strathclyde. These allies came together against Athelstan, the first king of England and grandson of Alfred the Great. Then known as the Great Battle, this huge engagement shocked a violent age and resulted in a decisive victory for Athelstan.

Professor Michael Livingston has written a new book called *Never Greater Slaughter* about Brunanburh, with a forward by bestselling author Bernard Cornwell. Livingston discusses why the battle was fought, its importance to English history and why the Wirral Peninsula may hold the key to its location.

How important is Athelstan to English history?

He is extremely important and particularly for this battle because Brunanburh largely established what we think of as England. It secured its survival at a time when that was tenuous. Athelstan was the force that made it happen and he bound together disparate peoples against a disparate force. Brunanburh saw him face off against an alliance that was effectively 'everybody else' from the British Isles attempting to destroy him. It is an extraordinary testament to Athelstan's political and military capabilities that he was able to win.

What was the condition of England before 937?

Athelstan and his family had been pushing back the English borders to the north and west before Brunanburh. He had made a punitive expedition to Scotland after they crossed his border. We think Athelstan had naval forces that made it all the way to Caithness. The Scots' response was to show rebellion and this is what Athelstan got from a lot of other leaders. Before Brunanburh he probably felt that much of England was under control and that he was a king above kings. He just had no idea that his enemies would set aside their differences to [try to] destroy him.

What circumstances led to Brunanburh?

We don't know who had the idea to confront Athelstan first. The only thing we have that is close to a smoking gun would be a Welsh poem that calls for exactly what happened. This poem effectively says, "Let's set aside our differences: Welsh, Scots, and Irish etc. Let's just kill the English." However, the Welsh don't appear to have fought at Brunanburh so how this poem was written advocating a Viking-Celtic alliance without Welsh participation is a mystery.

We're also missing what the agreements were to prevent the Vikings and Celts fighting among themselves. We just don't have the sources we would like from their side to explain it. Of course, the English also had no idea and therefore don't have an explanation either. It's really frustrating not to have that answer.

What do we know about the battle itself?

A lot of what we know comes from an English poem in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. It says that Brunanburh was an unusual all-day engagement that was fought from mid-morning until "the setting of the sun". It was also a "shield-wall" battle but the specific details of which kings commanded which flanks are unknown. The allied wall finally broke and it became a rout, which was often the way with medieval battles. There was a running battle back to the ships that had brought the alliance to England.

Two of the main allied kings got away, although Owain probably died. Constantine



It's son was also killed along with many lesser kings and lords. A huge part of the political class died and the bloodshed was extraordinary. All of the sources agree on this and referred to it as the Great Battle for generations. This was a time of battles but everybody would have known what the Great Battle meant. This demonstrates just how calamitous Brunanburh was.

There have been many suggested locations for the battlefield. Why do you think Brunanburh was fought on the Wirral Peninsula?

When you collate all the information about where it might have been fought you start zeroing in pretty quickly on the Wirral Peninsula. This is because it is the only place in England where you have a modern place name that could have been Brunanburh, which is Bromborough. That doesn't mean that it is 'the' Brunanburh but 'a' Brunanburh. However, it fits all our expectations. The Wirral is geographically closer to Ireland than Yorkshire (for example) and there was a pre-existing Norse colony with a large harbour.

Lots of people disagree but archaeologists have found artefacts relatively recently. The preliminary stuff includes artefacts that look like field-smithy work. This means things that could be melted down in the field so my guess is we've got field work at an English encampment during post-battle recycling. To have recycling on this scale means that you'd have to have a very large army. Among the things that have also been found in and around this area are 10th century arrowheads that are associated with Vikings from Dublin. Therefore, on the Venn diagram of things, I think Bromborough is Brunanburh.

Why do you think the battle has been forgotten despite its importance?

It's the events of 1066 that largely makes Brunanburh almost disappear. It's a huge reset button because it changes the English language and social structure. 1066 couldn't have happened without Brunanburh because there would have been no England to conquer but it nevertheless takes on a life of its own. This is rightly so because the Battle of Hastings was incredible and justly remembered. Nevertheless, it does mean that what happened before basically gets erased, with a few exceptions like Alfred the Great.

To what extent did Brunanburh seal the creation of England?

A lot of people talk about Brunanburh as the place where England was born. This doesn't really compute with me but the rationale is that this was the point where the kingdom was here to stay. It was like the 'coming of age' for England as a mature nation. For at least that moment, Brunanburh set the boundaries that are essentially today's English counties. It's true that when Athelstan died those boundaries were pushed back a little. However, this is the moment where you get what people would recognise as England today. Simply on an objective historical level, this is a fascinating event.

Right: A 1913 depiction of the Battle of Brunanburh by Welsh artist Morris Meredith Williams



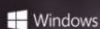
Never Greater Slaughter: Brunanburh and the Birth of England is published in hardback by Osprey Publishing. To purchase a copy visit: www.ospreypublishing.com

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MUSEUMS & EVENTS

Discover a castle in West Sussex, regimental museums in Winchester and the IWM's social media campaign looking forward to the reopening of cultural venues

Missing Museums

The Imperial War Museums have launched a social media campaign for people to express how much they missed military history venues as museums re-open across the UK

In the weeks leading up to the reopening of museums and galleries, the Imperial War Museums (IWM) have launched #MissingMuseums, a social media campaign that asks what museum-goers have missed the most while doors to the UK's best-loved cultural sites have remained shut.

From the sound of the Spitfire to seeing great works of art, the campaign, which launched on 1 April 2021, shines a light on visitors' most memorable museum moments through a series of photographs and stories shared across IWM's social media channels. Using the hashtag #MissingMuseums, IWM is now encouraging other cultural

organisations and influential figures to get involved as the country prepares for its favourite sites to reopen again this spring.

The campaign aims to build excitement for the UK's museum sector. From 19 May 2021, visitors will be welcomed back to IWM London, IWM North, Churchill War Rooms and IWM Duxford, whose grounds have already been open to visitors since 12 April 2021. HMS Belfast will reopen in July 2021 following major redevelopments.

Across Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, visitors and staff looking forward to 19 May have shared their excitement at being able to enjoy the things they have missed during closure. This includes seeing their favourite exhibits, learning something new and feeling a bit of normality return to everyday life. For example, IWM staff member Poppy has spoken of what it feels like to return to work: "Getting back to the museum made me feel like a bit of normality had ever so slightly returned! Having worked on its communications for so long, I felt a sense of relief that Ai Weiwei's [artwork exhibition] History of Bombs was finally being engaged with as the artist intended. No one wants a world-class artwork like that to go unseen!"

Visitors have a variety of things they remember. One of the most memorable moments for Callum was "discussing the history of tanks and armoured warfare and First World War exhibits with friends at IWM London". Meanwhile, Fran recalls visiting IWM Duxford for the 75th anniversary of D-Day: "It was a day I shall never forget. It made me immensely humble and proud because without these men we wouldn't have our freedom today."

Pete Austin, Assistant Director of Marketing and Communications at IWM, says: "For museum-lovers everywhere, this year has certainly been one that we won't forget. Doors have been closed on an unprecedented scale, but with the approach of May our favourite spaces are about to reopen again. We can't wait to welcome our visitors back to IWM from 19 May. However, in the meantime, let's get excited, show some love for all museums across the country, and share what you've missed the most." If you'd like to get involved, post your photo on social media using #MissingMuseums and tag the IWM so they can see what you're missing and how it made you feel.

For more information about #MissingMuseums visit: www.iwm.org.uk/visits/Missing-Museums

Facebook: @IWMLondon, @IWMNorth, @IWM Duxford, @ChurchillWarRooms and @HMS Belfast.

Twitter: @I_W_M, @IWM Duxford, @IWMNorth Instagram: @imperialwarmuseums



Henri remembers seeing Concorde for the first time at IWM Duxford: "I was so excited to actually see the real Concorde in the flesh and go on board"



The Imperial War Museum in London is just one of the huge number museums in the UK that have been closed due to the Covid-19 pandemic

Winchester's Regiments

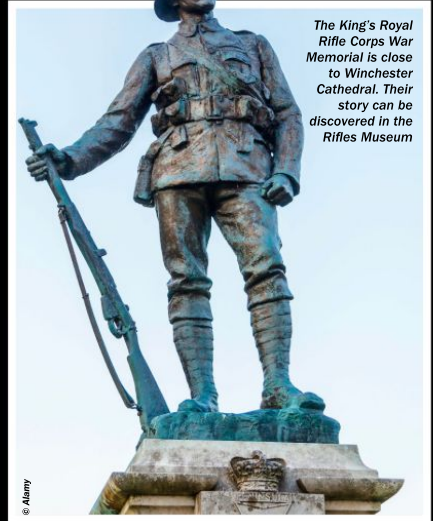
Six military museums in the Hampshire city can all be viewed online with in-depth virtual tours

Located in England's first and former capital city in Hampshire, Winchester's Military Museums is a group of six independent but related regimental museums situated within yards of each other on a historic site. Close to the city centre, the museums are based in the 19th century Peninsula and Lower Barracks. They consist of HorsePower: The Museum of the King's Royal Hussars, Royal Hampshire Regiment Museum, Royal Green Jackets Museum, Gurkha Museum, Adjutant General's Corps Museum and the Rifles Museum.

Each museum offers a unique experience and has its own story to tell.

There are fantastic collections of medals, paintings and military objects on display across the whole site. The complex is also adjacent to the Great Hall, a 13th century building commissioned by King Henry III that is the only surviving part of the medieval Winchester Castle. Although museums across England officially (including in Hampshire) reopen on 17 May 2021, visitors can also conduct online virtual tours of all six attractions in Winchester. These tours have been created by software company InfoAktiv and are best viewed in the following web browsers: Microsoft Edge, Google Chrome and Mozilla Firefox.

For more information about Winchester's Military Museums visit:
www.winchestersmilitaryquarter.org



The King's Royal Rifle Corps War Memorial is close to Winchester Cathedral. Their story can be discovered in the Rifles Museum

© Army

The Earl Marshal's Seat

Arundel Castle is the magnificent fortified palace of the dukes of Norfolk, with incredible gardens for visitors to explore

Located in West Sussex, Arundel Castle is the principal seat of the Duke of Norfolk. The most senior lay peer in England, the duke also holds the ancient office of Earl Marshal – a title that originally bore responsibility for the monarch's horses during military operations.

Arundel is one of the great castles of England and a Grade-I listed building. First established in

1067, it was originally owned by the earls of Arundel who were elevated to the duchy of Norfolk in the 16th century. Although it has since been turned into a stately home, Arundel's Norman motte still forms the centre of the castle and it endured an 18-day siege during the First English Civil War in 1643.

As of April 2021, the castle's award-winning extensive gardens are open to visitors. This

includes the Tropical, Rose and English Gardens, a quirky Stumpery and warm glasshouses. The castle hosts various horticultural and historical events throughout the year including plant fairs, an Allium Extravaganza in May, medieval weekends (including jousts) and 12,000 Years of Combat re-enactments in August 2021. Tickets are available for pre-booking only at this time, and the castle's interior will open on 18 May 2021 at the earliest.

For more information visit:
www.arundelcastle.org



The castle regularly holds medieval combat re-enactments

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REVIEWS

Our pick of the latest military history books

THE JUST

AN EPIC STORY OF COURAGE AND SURVIVAL

Author: Jan Brokken, translated by David McKay
Publisher: Scribe UK **Price:** £25 **Released:** Out now

In *The Just: How Six Unlikely Heroes Saved Thousands of Jews from the Holocaust*, Dutch author Jan Brokken tells a tale that is so remarkable as to be almost unbelievable. That every word is true and that the story is little known even today makes it a book that needs to be read. In this sensitive, compelling translation by David McKay, Brokken tells the story of Jan Zwartendijk, the Dutch consul in Lithuania, and a small group of friends who defied the rules and risked everything to save thousands of lives.

As desperate Jewish refugees in Kaunas, Lithuania, sought a means of escape from the Holocaust, the unassuming Zwartendijk hit upon a plan to issue visas that would allow them to travel to the Dutch colony of Curaçao. Over 10 days Zwartendijk and Japanese vice-consul Chiune Sugihara wrote out thousands of visas that allowed as many as 10,000 people to flee the Nazi regime. Zwartendijk and Sugihara worked for as many as 20 hours a day, churning out a month's worth of visas in one shift that guaranteed the families of those who possessed them safe passage to Curaçao. They would travel on the Trans-Siberian Express through Soviet Russia, through Japan, and into China, from where they could undertake the final leg of the journey to safety. To those who received them, the visas were truly a life line, but after the war Zwartendijk and Sugihara were treated as pariahs by their own nations and stories of their heroism went untold.

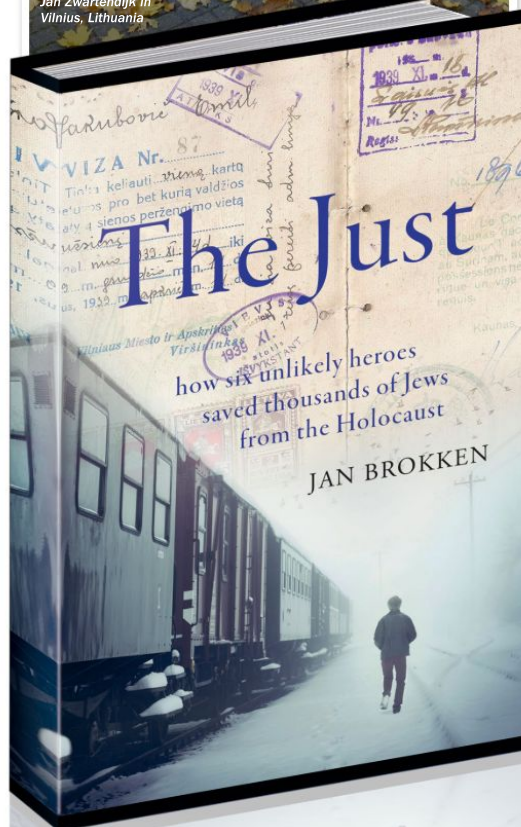
“IT’S A TALE THAT IS SO REMARKABLE AS TO BE ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE”

The Just is the book that Zwartendijk's deeds truly deserve. It is a painstaking reconstruction of a story that should not have been forgotten and that, thanks to Brokken's sensitivity and laser-focussed attention to detail, can now be told again. It is a story that requires an enormous cast of characters and a global canvas that might have been unwieldy in less assured hands, but which Brokken marries with ease. The narrative is all the more remarkable because Zwartendijk was simply an ordinary man. Before the war he was the director of production at the Lithuanian offices of electronic company Philips, and in peacetime he returned to this role, working for Philips in the Netherlands until his retirement. A humble man, Zwartendijk spoke little of his wartime efforts and few who knew him knew what he had achieved. Sugihara, meanwhile, had his diplomatic career terminated as a result of his actions in Lithuania.

Though they have been honoured by the Jewish community worldwide, the actions of these unassuming heroes who saved so many lives have been largely unknown. Brokker's book should change that, and it deserves to be read by the widest audience possible. It is an inspiring story of humanity, courage and hope in the darkest hours of the war. It is profoundly moving and a story that should be told again and again, as a reminder of the remarkable and lasting impact that even a handful of people can have. **CC**



A monument to Jan Zwartendijk in Vilnius, Lithuania



PATHS OF FIRE

AN ACCOUNT OF HOW GUNS AND GUNNERY HAVE INFLUENCED OUR WORLD AND OUR CULTURE IN UNSUSPECTED AND SURPRISING WAYS

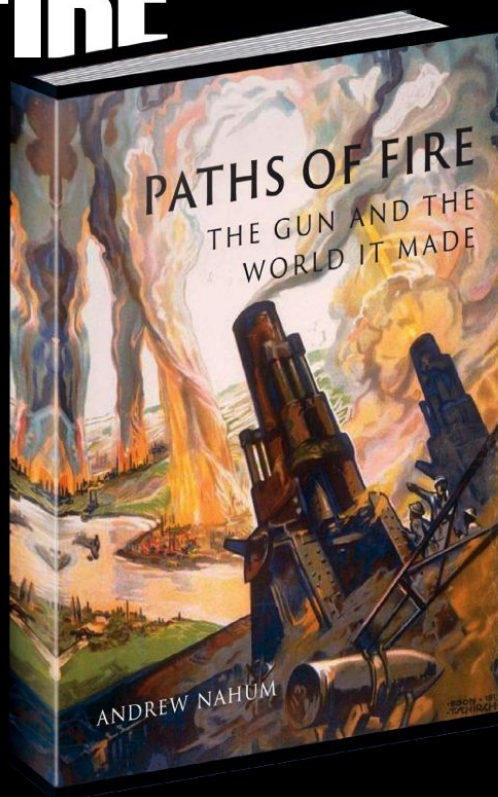
Author: Andrew Nahum **Publisher:** Reaktion Books
Price: £25 **Released:** May 2021

Ancient yet contemporary, the gun has for centuries dominated the world in a myriad of ways and is woven into the fabric of human existence. People in fortunate countries are not often aware of this, according to Andrew Nahum, whose chronicle of the gun is an authoritative as well as original study of this invention and its impact on society and nations.

The book is structured in a series of snapshots, the author explains, showing how guns and gunnery have determined the course of events in often unsuspected, surprising ways. The flight of the cannon ball, for instance, helped overturn ancient theories of motion, inherited by the Greeks and clung to by the Catholic Church. It was the study of ballistics and the heavens that helped underpin the new science of Galileo and Newton. Here was an analysis that was seen to be genuinely useful by the most powerful actors in the emerging scientific world.

Arms development has had an enormous ongoing effect on technological development and social change, often by elliptical and unexpected routes. Nahum cites the invention of the laser in the late 1950s, which triggered a revival of the notion of a beam weapon. Taking this a step forward, with the development of the US Star Wars programme some 30 years later to counter the Soviet threat, American defence planners came up with increasingly exotic solutions, like a huge fleet of missiles and launch pads stationed around a vast 'racetrack' in the desert. Missiles would be moved by night to defeat Soviet targeting plans.

The book abounds with such amusing anecdotes as well as revealing portraits of key figures in this often underrated milestone in human technological ingenuity. **JS**



Below: A heavy howitzer being fired during the First World War



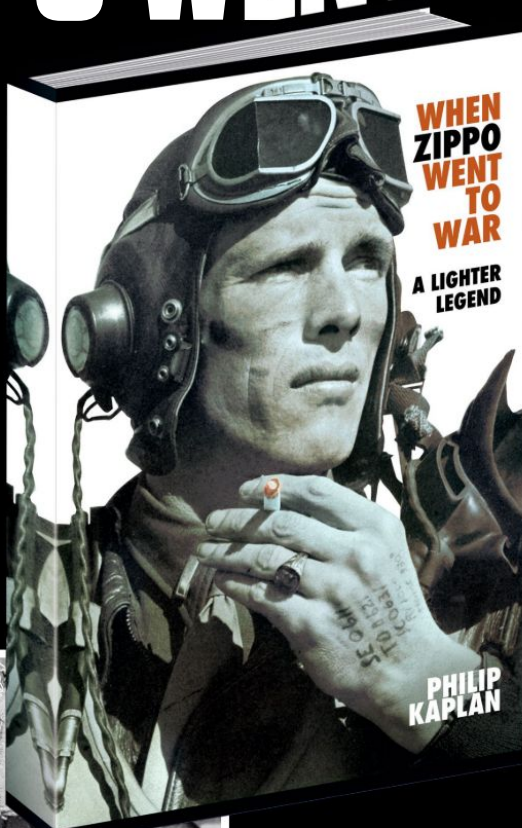
WHEN ZIPPO WENT TO WAR

PACKED WITH PHOTOGRAPHS, THIS IS THE STORY OF THE ICONIC LIGHTER FROM ITS HUMBLE BEGINNINGS TO ITS ASSOCIATION WITH HOLLYWOOD GLAMOUR AND THE PART IT PLAYED IN WORLD WAR II AND BEYOND

Author: Philip Kaplan **Publisher:** Pen & Sword
Price: £25 **Released:** Out now

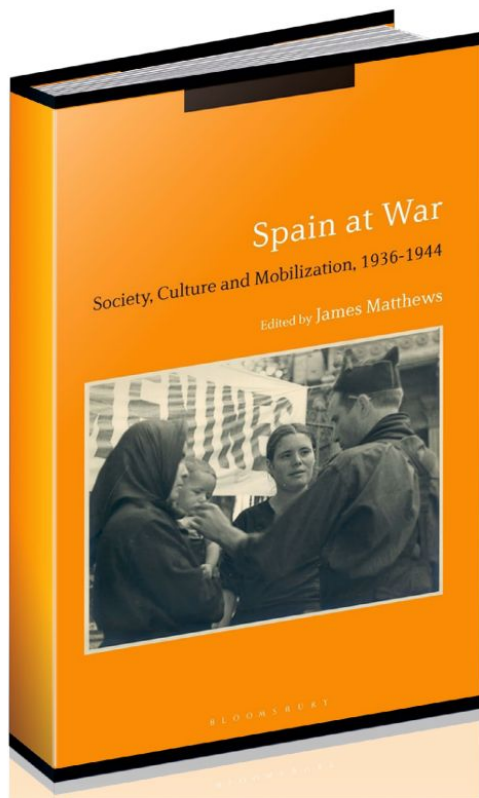
Inspired by a friend's ugly, clunky Austrian cigarette lighter, in 1933 George Blaisdell created the very first Zippo in his workshop in Bradford, Pennsylvania. At a time when smoking was almost ubiquitous, the functional, art deco Zippo soon became the lighter to have. Hollywood stars such as Bette Davis and Humphrey Bogart helped to popularise and glamorise them in dozens of

films, before the Second World War cast Zippo as an essential item for every GI battling Hitler and the Japanese. It is this association with the war effort that Kaplan focuses on most, in a book which is clearly a labour of love for an author more used to detailing the exploits of Allied and Axis pilots. Given that background it's unsurprising that much of the book covers the use of Zippo lighters by



American aircrew, and more specifically the men of the 'Mighty Eighth' Air Force based in England.

Kaplan lavishly illustrates the book with masses of photographs, cleverly combining the early history of the Zippo manufacturing company with the glitz of Hollywood, but where the book comes into its own is in its coverage of the fighting men and women to whom Zippo dedicated its entire wartime production. Enthusiastic, cocky, exhausted – Kaplan captures them expertly, and he deserves credit for widening out his subject to cover British, Polish and Canadian aircrew, as well as the jarring context of the time, with American bomber crews risking their lives one moment and dancing the jitterbug with local girls in Bury St Edmunds the next. **JT**



SPAIN AT WAR

LEADING INTERNATIONAL HISTORIANS FROM TOKYO TO CALIFORNIA BRING TO LIGHT THE INTERACTION OF SOCIETY AND INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCES IN THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

Author: James Matthews (editor) **Publisher:** Bloomsbury
Price: £28.99 **Released:** March 2021

The Spanish Civil War is customarily written off as a military action involving insurgent army units allied with the Falange and other reactionary forces, waging war against a legitimately-elected socialist-led government, albeit infested with communist conspirators. James Matthews takes the reader into another realm, often overlooked in the literally thousands of works published on this conflict.

"Historians of Spain in the 20th century have focused relatively little on the interaction of society, culture and the armed forces, even in the period that has attracted most attention," says Matthews. This shortcoming is addressed by bringing together the writings of 13 outstanding historians and specialists, who examine broad-ranging and hitherto little-explored issues. These include the Francoist doctrine of 'martial masculinity' and 'turning boys into men', the role of social work during the war, political economies and monetary policies, desertion and

shirking military duties, and Republican spies in the Nationalist rearguard.

Two particularly engaging topics cover home-front cooking, looking at eating and daily life in Republican cities during the three years of warfare, and the demobilisation of Francoist and Republican war veterans up to 1944. In the chapter covering the first subject, Suzanne Dunai, a lecturer at the University of California, provides a fascinating case study of wartime Republican cities and focuses on what they ate and the increasingly dismal situation of food provisioning. Ángel Alcalde of the University of Melbourne takes the reader into the post-war period, which for many Spaniards was no less dire than the combat years. He shows how a cultural repression of the defeated was crucial in the early construction and consolidation of the Franco regime. Former Republicans were excluded from national life and left many in abject poverty, simply for having supported the losing side. **JS**

WHEN TIME STOPPED

A MOVING MEMOIR DETAILING A DAUGHTER'S DISCOVERY OF THE WARTIME PAST OF HER FATHER AND WIDER FAMILY

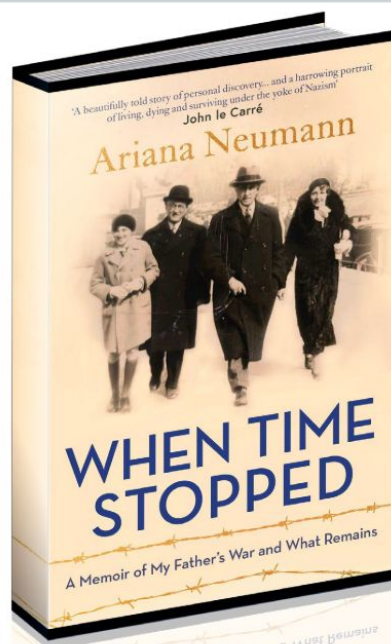
Author: Ariana Neumann **Publisher:** Scribner
Price: £8.99 **Released:** Out now

Ariana Neumann's *When Time Stopped* is not your usual historical memoir. Most tend to be primary sources from the time, recounting the author's own personal experiences of a specific period, but *When Time Stopped* is about a daughter discovering what both her father and family endured living under the Nazis in WWII.

The book opens by recounting Neumann's childhood recollections of her father, before detailing how he left her a mysterious box with an identity card belonging to someone called 'Jan Sebesta'. From there we jump from Neumann's own experiences to those of her father as she pieces together his hitherto unknown life.

When Time Stopped can be a hard book to read as the personal nature of the story and how it's being relayed results in a work which can be heavy going yet deeply moving. Yet it is through choosing to tell the story this way that *When Time Stopped* gains much of its sublime power. The opening chapters, in which Neumann relates her childhood in Caracas, paints a vivid picture of her father as she knew him, as well as cementing the idea of a mystery in his past. As the book continues and we find out more about her father's role during the war, we are allowed into the very personal journey on which Neumann found herself. Photographs of the various documents and individuals mentioned throughout give us an even further insight into the research, seeing the items ourselves.

When Time Stopped is a powerful meditation on family and love, as well as another poignant reminder of the evil of the Nazis. **CM**



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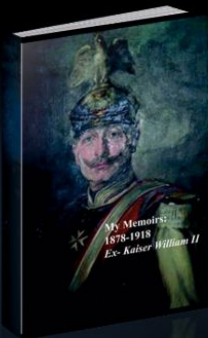
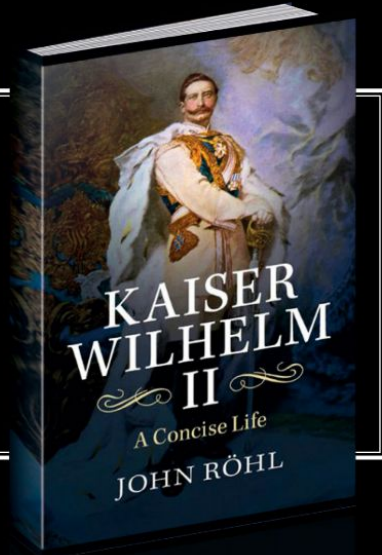
WILHELM II

The last emperor of Germany and among the most controversial royals of the 20th century

WILHELM II: (THREE VOLUMES)

John Röhl

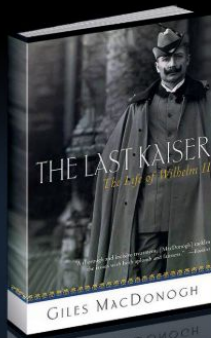
An acclaimed expert on Imperial Germany, John Röhl's complete biography of the Kaiser is separated into three titles, each of which focuses on a vital period of Wilhelm's life: *Young Wilhelm: The Kaiser's Early Life, 1859-1888*; *The Kaiser's Personal Monarchy, 1888-1900*; and *Into the Abyss of War and Exile, 1900-1941*. Drawing from decades of research, this is considered the most complete biography of the Kaiser. For those seeking an abridged version of this three-volume epic, there is also *Kaiser Wilhelm II: A Concise Life*, in which Röhl distills his biography into just over 260 pages.



My Memoirs: 1878 - 1918

Ex-Kaiser Wilhelm II

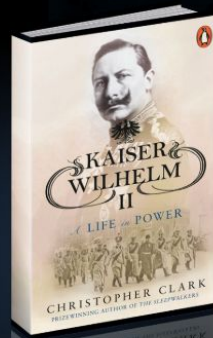
In the aftermath of his nation's defeat, and while living in exile, the 'Ex Emperor' Wilhelm penned his own account of his life up until the end of World War I. The result provides a valuable insight into the highest levels of German government prior to and during the war, as well as the Kaiser's own take on key decisions during that time.



The Last Kaiser: The Life of Wilhelm II

Giles MacDonogh

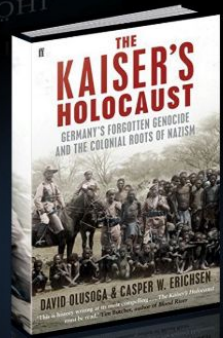
Historian and biographer Giles MacDonogh here provides worthy context to a figure which, at least in Britain, is still very much associated with villainous, and mostly fanciful, wartime propaganda. MacDonogh addresses much of the mythology surrounding Wilhelm, as well as his familial relationships and role in World War I.



Kaiser Wilhelm II: A Life in Power

Christopher Clark

Former winner of the Wolfson Prize for History for his work on Prussia, *Iron Kingdom*, here Christopher Clark investigates Wilhelm's rise to power over Germany and interrogates exactly how far that power extended in reality. From his early years in the royal court to the latter years leading a defeated people, Clark also sheds light on the Kaiser's lasting impact on Germany.



The Kaiser's Holocaust

David Olusoga and Casper W. Erichsen

This harrowing but essential book recounts the history of Germany's colonial expansion, and massacres of indigenous populations, in south-west Africa, prior to the outbreak of World War I. Perhaps controversially, the authors make a connection between the ideological aims of the Kaiser's empire and the Third Reich - though readers will be left to draw their own conclusions as to their success in this endeavour.

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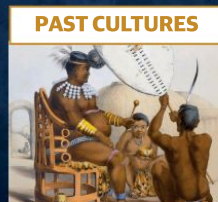
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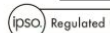
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O N S A L E 1 0 J U N E

KNIGHT'S SPUR

This late-medieval cavalry tool is an extravagant example of knightly chivalry and a practical means to control horses in battle

A metal device designed to be worn in pairs on the heels of riding boots, spurs direct horses or other animals to move them forward or laterally while in the saddle. During the Middle Ages, the status of a knight became closely related to his horse and so spurs became a symbol of chivalry. To become a knight, a squire had to literally 'win his spurs' because they were presented during the knighthood ceremony and regarded as an important token. Wealthy knights or royalty would commission elaborate examples that were engraved, gilded or inlaid with precious metals or stones.

Spurs were first used by the Ancient Celts but by the Middle Ages they had developed a revolving disc at the end of the neck. This disc was known as a rowel and it was first

introduced to Western Europe during the mid-13th century. Rowel spurs allowed riders to touch the flanks of their horse at any foot angle. The spur also helped the horse in that it rolled against the body rather than directly hitting it. This meant that there was less chance of the animal being injured while it was being given directions.

This pictured spur dates from c.1400 and is made of gilded copper, enamel and gold. It holds a large rowel that's shaped as a sunburst and also engraved with a chequy pattern and trefoils. The spur's origin is uncertain and could either come from France or Catalonia in Spain. The chequy pattern may hold a clue to the original owner's heraldry, with the French Dreux or Catalan Urgell families being suggested. However, the pattern has several colours and the feature may just be ornamental.



At the Battle of Crécy in 1346, the teenaged Edward the Black Prince was famously ordered to "win his spurs" during his first engagement by his father King Edward III of England

THE
MET

The spur is part of the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. Known as "The Met", the museum is the largest art museum in the United States and contains the popular Department of Arms and Armor.

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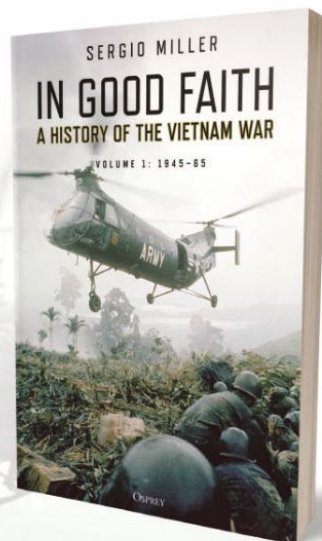
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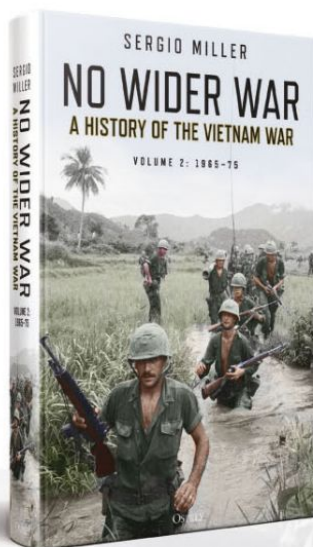
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